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Near East & South Asia

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ALGERIA

Impact of Economic Reforms Discussed

45190009 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French
1 Dec 87 p 20

[Article by Ammar Benali, member of the planning group of the national conference on enterprise autonomy, director general of the ENACHES, and former director general of the ENST: "The Scope of a Reform"]

[Text] The current economic reform is considerable in scope. Its purpose is to improve the profitability of the national economy, to modernize and increase labor productivity, to lower production costs and to increase exports.

The means of implementing the reform are based on four essential steps:

—More realistic decentralization of the economy, letting the market elements operate;

—Granting greater autonomy to enterprises in terms of investments, which must be based to a greater extent on economic criteria;

—An effort to achieve price "clarity," i.e., termination of artificial supports designed to aid a given economic sector instead of taking labor costs into account.

Such steps have sometimes been interpreted as a prelude to the following:

—A lesser role for the state to the advantage of enterprises;

—Reduction of planning to the advantage of market forces, with the potential risk of domination of the production system by the banking system.

A more realistic study of these targets shows that such fears are groundless.

Enterprise autonomy does not imply that the regulatory role of the state will be diminished.

Let us emphasize, first of all, that the funds invested in the various enterprises do not belong to them but to the state, which retains the essential, if not the exclusive, right to act.

A substantial share of the profit earned by such enterprises will go to the state as payment for its participation in the capitalization of the enterprises.

The balance can be invested in enterprises only in accordance with the plan.

The amount of such profits, whether large or small, will greatly depend on the cost of raw materials and finished products, which will be also set by the state.

Under these circumstances, the public nature of the means of production and the planned nature of the economy are not fundamentally changed by the use of profit as the efficiency indicator for enterprises. What is changed is that henceforth, profit will be based on a computation which will include as part of the "cost" the interest paid for the use of invested funds.

The results of the use of trade categories (supply and demand, profit, profitability) should therefore not be excessive, for the state will still retain all the major instruments for influencing the direction of the national economy (budget, the financial system, the price system, etc.).

Enterprise autonomy does not imply a diminution of the economic planning system.

Enterprise autonomy is not a step toward abandoning the planning system for the national economy. It only corrects an excessive centralization which involved the formulation of all details by a single decision-making center. Furthermore, the fact that the results of operations are used as an indicator of the implementation of the plan does not mean in the least that planning is being abandoned. Actually, it is a question of a simple technical step which will not entail any institutional modification whatsoever. The real risk begins when such functional autonomy is abandoned and total decision-making autonomy in terms of prices, investments and employment is allowed. This, however, is absolutely excluded from the reform.

Generally speaking, and taking into consideration the further sophistication of the national economic mechanisms, some degree of utilization of market laws has become inevitable. It should allow for a better adaptation of the production system to the tastes of consumers, which should lower the stocks of unsalable products which result from excessively centralized planning.

Determination of the nature of market production (variety, diversity and quality) will most certainly reduce waste.

The crux of the problem is to combine a production system which, in the final account, is based on the plan (particularly in terms of investments) and the freer operation of the market which guides and inspires the planners.

A planning system is not incompatible with a certain use of the market. As long as there is a scarcity of goods, the market may be needed to make verification of planning possible, particularly since the latter may not necessarily include all products with all the minor details.

The results of a solvent market would thus permit us to make the adjustments necessary to ensure the progress of planning itself.

However, in some cases one must not overlook the conflict which could pit the law of the market against the process of planning, insofar as the former tends to orient investments and, therefore production itself, on the basis of the demand which can be met immediately, whereas the latter tends to orient investments on the basis of social criteria with priority dictated by the long-term development interests of the national economy.

However, here as well, one must avoid exaggeration of the potential conflict, for the state could always intervene, either directly (with budgetary steps) or indirectly (with fiscal or tariff measures), to correct any development deemed undesirable.

Enterprise Autonomy in the Light of New Banking System

The economic reform gives a central role to the banks, which become the direct motive force of the economy.

The impact of this new role is as yet difficult to assess, in view of the novelty of the organization. However, we believe that in the future it is the development of this sector which should be followed most closely, for a good part of the expected results of the reform depend on its behavior.

The old banking system was totally centralized. The main function of the banks to date has been to store the accumulations received by the state and to work exclusively under the guidance of the latter in distributing the thus collected funds among the various economic sectors.

The new system will make credit and finance decisions concerning enterprises dependent on economic and commercial criteria which have been absent so far.

According to the new banking regulations, the Central Bank will retain a special status, with responsibility for implementing the unified credit and exchange system. It will control the activities of primary banks relative to the application of the policy of short- and long-term credit and will carry out the currency emission functions..

It will play a determining role as the cash and credit regulator.

While the primary banks may handle their own financial resources on the basis of their own decisions, they must conform to the policy of the Central Bank whenever they require new emission resources. The Central Bank will decide on the amount of additional funds to be injected into the economy. It will thus act as the ultimate umpire in matters of credit policy.

The success of the new banking system will depend, in the final account, on its ability to provide adequate responses to the investment opportunities revealed by the enterprises, to anticipate economic developments and to harness sufficient funds to meet the demands of the economic operators.

A grave risk exists that the banks may fail to practice credit restraint, using the lack of funds deposited by enterprises as a justification. It is also possible that the banking sector, strong by virtue of its newly-acquired influence, may tend to use its new power to dominate production enterprises.

Actually, the new emphasis on the banking sector has all of the necessary potential for developing into a dynamism-generating element. It should not act as a hindrance which might affect the dynamism of enterprises.

The problem, therefore, to establish harmony between the supply of and the demand for credit, in order to ensure a steadily growing and uninterrupted economic rhythm.

05157

LYBIA

Call for Inquiry Into Funds for Australian Muslims

45000005 Sydney *THE AUSTRALIAN in English*
16 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by Marc McEvoy: "Libs Seek Inquiry Into Libyan Funds for Muslims"]

[Text] The Federal Opposition yesterday called for an inquiry into Libyan funding of Australian organisations.

The call came after a report that Libya's leader, Colonel Gaddafi, had given \$140,000 to the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils (AFIC).

But the Federal Government yesterday condoned Libyan funding for religious organisations in Australia, and rejected suggestions that such funding could be used to support political movements in the Pacific.

The Opposition's spokesman on immigration and ethnic affairs, Mr Alan Cadman, condemned "an unrepentant terrorist government such as that of Colonel Gaddafi supporting groups in Australia and the Pacific."

"Financial support means moral support, and that places an obligation on the recipient to follow the same policy lines as the donor government," Mr Cadman said.

The most senior religious leader of Australia's 150,000-strong Muslim community yesterday branded a report that he had financial links with Colonel Gaddafi as "a lie".

The 46-year-old Imam—or head priest—of Sydney's biggest mosque, Sheikh Taj El-din Hilaly, admitted yesterday to receiving \$10,000 through the AFIC to help pay for a protracted legal battle he had had with the Department of Immigration.

The money was part of a \$140,000 grant the AFIC received from Libya in February.

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr Young, on May 8 granted a two-year temporary entry permit to Sheikh Hilaly, who had been seeking permanent residence in Australia from the former minister for immigration, Mr Chris Hurford.

Asked yesterday whether he received funds from Libya, Sheikh Hilaly, speaking through an interpreter, said: "What you said then is a lie."

Sheikh Hilaly said the AFIC had lent the \$10,000 to the Lebanese Muslim Association to help pay for his immigration court case, which cost \$115,000.

The imam, an Egyptian who worked in Libya for five years as a Muslim preacher, said he had no political affiliations and taught morality—not politics—in the Lakemba mosque in west Sydney.

A spokesman for Mr Young said the AFIC, a religious-cultural organisation, had acknowledged that it received the money from the Libyan-based World Islamic Call Society, saying "the grant was never a secret."

Mr Young's spokesman said the Government saw nothing sinister in Libyan funds being distributed to religious organisations in Australia.

"As far as the Government is aware, the incident has no relationship with Libyan Government support for political movements in the Pacific."

The spokesman said the Government was opposed to Australian organisations "accepting money for unacceptable political purposes from the Libyan Government."

"But it takes no exception to the unconditional provision of financial support between religious organisations for charitable purposes."

The Government had no evidence that the money was used for anything else and was "not aware" of other groups in Australia receiving funds from Colonel Gaddafi.

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Cadman called on the Government to "resist the increased political activity in our region."

"I call on the Government to establish an official inquiry and to formulate strategies to curb the increasing influence of terrorists on the South Pacific and Australia."

/12223

MOROCCO

Results of Official Survey on Household Spending Rejected

45190016 Casablanca LAMALIF in French
Dec 87 pp 17-18

[Article by Youssef Ouzaghar]

[Text] Called for, hoped for and awaited, the survey on household expenditures and consumption was at last conducted in 1985 and its "preliminary" or "definitive" results, nobody knows what, have now arrived, and yet.... And yet, the survey already seems to have become obsolete. Arousing neither passions nor polemics it has caused just some limited reaction on the part of the opposition and the government majority. The leftist press merely gave brief comments. A more surprising fact, however, was the absence of the usual good report on the part of the official and unofficial press. Was the bride too pretty?

The temptation is great to approach these timid reactions as a sign of disinterest in figures that are undoubtedly too consistent to be debatable or plausible. Nevertheless, if the dominant attitude in political circles could have a certain reason for a cautious approach, that of university circles, that did not at all express an opinion on the matter, is, on the other hand, enigmatic. Economists, sociologists and statisticians have let go a golden opportunity to get involved in an updating of facts and, indeed, an analysis. At times when reflection seems to favor the observation of changeable phenomena, such silence is somewhat enigmatic.

A friend, an economist passionately interested in quantitative analysis, confided his point of view to me by announcing, in a booming and exasperated tone of voice, that he was refusing to have anything to do "with this business." Indeed, he was even more violent when he told me, in a more shocked tone, that he had decided to boycott the results of what he called a farce. At the outset of our talk he seemed to be rather negative, extremist, indeed, frankly biased. In the long run, however, I must confess that he really made me have misgivings. Today, I do question myself. Not on the validity of the results but on the role of the statistical institution in the country.

Questions that are formal in appearance assume another meaning when they are faced and a particularly political meaning when those who have the responsibility and duty to enlighten you "give you the slip." Some of these questions are almost elementary in a country that prides itself on administrative clarity. For example, the choice of a sample, the localization of polling areas, the category

of yields in percentage of the overall sample, the techniques of statistical and econometric calculations utilized, the correct procedures for raw results, the utilization or not of falsification tests, the updating of facts utilized and results obtained, the preciseness of correlation coefficients to doublecheck results, etc.

We must, above all, not make value judgments on officials who are today responsible for statistics in our country. Many of them have proved themselves in projects of a major technical nature. The problem is not technical as such but becomes rather political in such circumstances. The big question, the one to which the majority of those interested in statistical data address themselves, is the following: do we have reliable and credible results and figures or not?

A quantitative figure or fact does not have an appropriate value in a field where it is a matter of social issues, of the life of people, of their state and condition. It is the analyses one draws from them that give them their force, that endows them with meaning. And even if one could have them say things there are certain realities they express by themselves. However, between the overrated and the real, a figure has an intrinsic power: to influence decisions, to condition opinions, to overshadow truth and to mask falsehood up to the point of rendering it plausible.

It would be a hopeless situation if we reached the point to raise doubts on the rare data that are parsimoniously given us by the administration, regarding ourselves, our economy, our health, our standard of living, our performance and our weaknesses, our advances and slowdowns, our dynamism and our slowness...our present and our future. It would be a disaster without a chance of being saved.

Officials have the right to say that the budget deficit was reduced to 5 percent in 1987 or that the current balance of payments deficit was nearly wiped out this year. The well-informed economist, however, knows that these results can be read in a different manner if one were to also venture recording restaggered debts. It could leave it up to the administration to choose the most optimistic interpretation even if it were the least plausible. But what about questions having to do with the real life of the people? How do you acknowledge a figure whose strictly quantitative significance is such that it could mean not merely change but upheaval, a transformation of reality. Imagine that this figure announces an improvement in the Moroccan standard of living by 297.9 percent between 1970 and 1985. And think that this was a period when the economic crisis had reached a degree unprecedented in the economic history of an independent Morocco. And think that while there was a drop in consumption of foodstuffs the standard of living gradually tripled: sugar, 8.9 percent; meat, 10.6 percent; fruits, 30.8 percent.

One may say that one does not prevent the other. The phenomenon of an increase in the standard of living is not incompatible with that of a drop in consumption of certain products. However, this is dialectics of very mediocre quality. One could play with words differently and in a better way: increase in expenditures does not mean improvement in the standard of living. The impact of the monetarization of the economy (especially in rural areas) could render laughable the most beautiful deductions referred to in the document distributed to the press in mid-September with fanfare.

By updating the figures by applying a 12 percent average deflator we will see that there was no rise in the standard of living but actually a decline. According to the survey document, the average annual rate of increase in expenditures ranged between 9 and 9.9 percent between the urban areas and rural areas. Let us do some calculations! You question the 12 percent rate of inflation? But did not the World Bank documents say that at 14 percent real interest rates were not real until this year?

By crisscrossing consumption data with the evolution of incomes we will see that a wage freeze can bring about a rise in the standard of living only if one were to have a pronounced sense of black humor. It is known that despite successive increases during the period covered by the survey, both the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage (and the agricultural guaranteed minimum wage) registered a real drop in purchasing power compared to the 1960's.

Let us analyze, in macroeconomic terms, and let us try to shed light on this mystery that estimates that at 10 percent the increase of annual personal consumption in a recessionary situation and where growth is hardly equal to 2.5 percent since 1978 and where overall consumption increased only by 2.7 percent (1980) prices between 1980 and 1985.

My friend's outrage appeared unjustified to me. It surprised me knowing him to be moderate in his judgment and endowed with unfailing self-control. However, his violence appears to me, now with the passage of time, symptomatic of an "ignore such information" attitude, that is regarded as disinterest but is, in fact, a protest against the non-plausible.

5671/9274

SUDAN

Soviet Correspondent Details Sudan's Progress, Problems

18070050 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Dec 87 p 6

[Report by *Izvestiya's* own correspondent D. Velikiy under the "Sudan Reportage" rubric: "Throwing Off the Burden of the Past"]

[Text] Khartoum—The taxi darted through Khartoum in the dark of night, taking me from the airport to the hotel in 15 minutes. The driver told me the fare. I

thought that I hadn't heard him correctly, and I asked him again. He repeated it.

"But for the same distance last year..., " I began.

"Last year gasoline cost 7 pounds a gallon, but now it costs 9 and a half," snapped the driver, and he took the money and left.

Prices at the hotel, it turned out, also had jumped up by 30 percent. The hotel manager wanted to know which airline I planned to choose to continue my trip, and warned:

"Sudan Airways is on strike. The management has let many employees go, and wages are not being raised for those who remain."

Thus it became clear from my first steps on the country's soil that the main topic for reportage on the Sudan of today is the economy.

The name of the dictator Nimeiri, who led the country for nearly 16 years, is disappearing from the names of streets and squares and his portrait has been removed from the paper money.

"If only we could get rid of Nimeiri's economic legacy with such ease!" (Mahjub Said Ahmed), chairman of the Sudan Trade Union Front, said in a conversation with me.

In fact, although there have been achievements in the Sudanese economy (certain development growth, an increase in cotton production by 40 percent, sugar by 25 percent, and so forth), the huge foreign debt of more than 40 billion dollars nullifies them.

"This debt which burdens the Sudanese economy has forced prices and inflation to soar to the heavens," (Mahjub Said Ahmed) said. The other trade union activists taking part in the discussion said that the prices for meat, as an example, had more than tripled in 2 years and the cost of housing had risen by 15 times as much.

State subsidies for sugar have been removed. The Sudanese pound has been devalued by 80 percent. There is talk of transferring certain state enterprises to the private sector. Private businessmen are also stealing up to the Sudanese railroad, the largest on the African continent.

In the view of those taking part in the discussion with me, the debt is not only a burden, but a means of pressure by which the creditors, chiefly the International Monetary Fund (IMF), are forcing the debtor country to take steps to "normalize" the economy in the Western style.

Obviously, the decision on concessions to the IMF was extremely difficult for the Sudanese leadership. "After all, the IMF is exporting social problems together with

the reforms suggested," Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi stated in a speech in the Constituent Assembly (parliament). "However, the agreement with the IMF is perhaps the only possible way out of the situation that has been created, although it is not the best way," he said.

In exchange for its concessions, Sudan is to receive 4 billion dollars in credit to implement a 4-year plan to save the economy. At present, however, the IMF is delaying the signing of the appropriate document, and Sudan has not received the credits...

The country's economic crisis is accompanied by a political one. The prime minister has announced the dissolution of the coalition government made up of the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party, and has called for the formation of a national government on a broader multiparty basis.

The problem of alternatives to the shariat (Islamic religious laws) introduced in the country during Nimeiri's rule continues to be unresolved. The broad masses of Sudanese demand that it be repudiated. There is one more critical problem—the continued fighting in the southern part of the country, where armed insurgents are active.

"Unless the fighting is stopped, it is difficult to speak about fundamental improvement in the country's economic situation," Fatima Ibrahim, chairman of the Sudanese Women's Union, believes.

This influential democratic organization is once again functioning legally. This also applies to many other progressive social, political, and trade union organizations that were driven underground and partially destroyed by the ousted dictator Nimeiri's secret police. Their activity is evident everywhere now, basically filling the country's life with brilliant political colors.

Adjustment of Sudan's foreign policy, long oriented exclusively toward the West, basically the United States, also has become possible on the same democratic basis. The country's new leadership has responded by refusing the American offer to store weapons for rapid deployment forces on Sudan's territory. It also decisively refused to take part in the "Bright Star" military exercises being conducted under the aegis of the Pentagon.

Sudan's relations with the socialist countries, including the USSR, are once again being developed successfully after a long period of coolness.

The development of mutually beneficial ties with the Soviet Union is necessary for Sudan, stressed (Hassan abd al-Gadar), the acting speaker of parliament. He noted with satisfaction that several Soviet delegations, including a parliamentary delegation, had visited Sudan this year and recalled the broad economic cooperation

that had once existed between the two countries. He said that certain projects, large elevators as an example, still continue to bring real benefit to the Sudanese economy.

The African continent's largest state is going through a complicated and critical period in its history. But the Sudanese are looking optimistically toward the future.

"After all, we are aware of our problems, we discuss them openly, and naturally we will be fighting to resolve them as rapidly as possible." This opinion of trade union leader (Mahjub Said Ahmed) is probably shared by most Sudanese.

8936

Officials Report Arms Flow in Darfur

45000013 Khartoum *THE GUIDING STAR* in English
31 Dec 87 p 8

[Excerpt] To illuminate some of the blurred areas of the Darfur situation and to unveil the facts, *THE GUIDING STAR*'s staff reporter, Mr Osman Ibrahim last week discussed the matter with some of the concerned sons of the region.

Below are the excerpts:

Hon Abdel Gadir A/Karim, Constituent Assembly member from Darsala, Darfur region:

The security situation in Darfur is extremely dangerous due to the flow of arms from Libya, using Sudanese territory, Darfur, for accomplishing its military goals in Chad by mobilizing pro-Libya fighters of the so-called Multi-National Islamic Legion in Western Sudan along the Sudanese-Chadian borders. These forces include the pro-Libya men of El Sheikh Ibn Omer, who are being supplies by Libya.

The government should come up with a clear policy regarding the neighbouring countries and declare a general mobilization of the internal front to safe-guard against foreign intervention.

In our search for facts we met Ustaz Abdallah Adam Khatir, chairman of Darfur Progress Front, who has just arrived (Khartoum) from a tour of Darfur.

Ustaz Khatir reported that the situation in the Western regions is considered to be more dangerous than ever due to the organized armed foreign presence there. The armed banditry, he said, is the result of the flow of arms from Libya and this is a threat to the citizens. Many of the armed men terrorise the Beduins specially in Kakk-bia area.

The Libyan conflict has its impact on Darfur because the Libyans provide logistic support for the Chadian opposition groups of El Sheikh Ibn Omer and the Islamic Legion whose camps are on the Sudan-Chadian borders.

Direct Libyan presence is covered by their operations under cover of the Islamic Legion, el Sheikh Ibn Omer, the Arab Association, etc. (Ustaz Abadallah presented a cassette as a testimony by many prominent personalities who confirmed the heavy foreign presence in Darfur). However the clearest proof of Libyan presence is of Sag Kasif, a leading personality in the Libyan military intelligence, who works on the Sag el Naam Project.

The Arab Association object, as Hon Abdallah explained is to sow distrust among the people. Its charter is just a declaration of will. But the will is being frustrated, especially that there are accusations that Libya is trying to create a state which will include parts of Sudan, Chad and Libya.

Ustaz Mohmoud Juma, President of SONIA Organization:

The security problems of Darfur are foreign inflicted on the Sudan, especially by the Libyan-Chadian conflict.

Tripoli managed to pressure Khartoum to allow free passage of men and arms to fight in Chad, a fact which is being viewed as the price being paid by the political leadership in Khartoum, especially the Prime Minister, for past similar assistance Libya granted.

There are Libyan camps on the Sudanese-Chadian border where the forces of El Sheikh Ibn Omer are encamped. These forces of El Sheikh Ibn Omer have been there since they were defeated by Mr Hissen Habre forces. Their camps have been there since the Transitional Government. Before moving to the new camps, they were encamped in emergency camps in Darfur. Their movement to the new camps was preceded by El Sheikh Ibn Omer's signing of a document in Libya, a move which granted him military weapons from Libya.

In return the Libyans were granted permission from the Central Government (in Khartoum) to pass arms to those forces and also to allow their training on Sudanese territory.

However, when armed robbery became rampant in the region, Sudanese security forces managed lately to capture some of those robbers and their weapons. But thee appears to be pressure from somewhere because the Central Government is now exerting pressure on the Regional Government not to impede the desire of the Libyans by interfering with their movements.

Recently, a Libyan officer was arrested in the western area of Darfur after being hit by a bullet while trying to escape.

Dr Abdel Rahman Bushara Dusa, ex-Minister of Agriculture, Darfur Region (He attended the Conference on Development which was held in the Grand Hotel, Khartoum):

The situation is appalling and dangerous due to arms which have reached the natives (of Darfur) through fleeing fighters from neighbouring countries, a situation which has now become uncontrollable. I think the settlement of the Chadian-Libyan conflict is the remedy for the situation.

/12232

Islamic Bank Officials Discuss Aid to Farmers

45040032 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic

19 Dec 87 pp 46-48

[Article by 'Uthman Mirghani: A Successful Banking Initiative in Agrarian Development"]

[Text] The consensus among experts well familiar with the Sudan is that it is sitting on untapped treasures in the form of tremendous farm potential which, if properly utilized, could turn it into the proverbial bread basket of the Arab world.

The Sudan's potential for an important agricultural economy has not been realized due to several factors including the lack of clearly defined state policies on agriculture. Furthermore, the lack of adequate agricultural investment has kept it from utilizing such resources in a manner that would guarantee it self-sufficiency then turn it into a food exporting country.

Sudanese circles that recognize the importance of nurturing the farm sector are working to develop farm production. The Islamic Bank of the Sudan has launched a unique project that achieved initial success and won the admiration of many of those interested in agrarian development. Essentially, the bank enters into partnership with small farmers by financing all farm operations from soil preparation and tilling and until the crop is harvested and marketed. The bank supplies all the funding and the farmer makes no commitment except to supply the land and provide hard work. The bank does not impose any financial costs on the farmer or require him to provide security of any type. At harvest time, the bank gets from 25 to 30 percent of the profits and the farmer gets the rest. The importance of this unique project becomes apparent if there is a net loss in which case the farmer has no more obligation and the bank writes off its disbursements.

The bank offers the small farmer a solution to the problem of funding and an opportunity to raise his income, therefore creating a new equation in rural development.

AL-TADAMUN discussed this project in interviews with three bank officials—General Manager Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah, Director of Rural Development Dr. Badawi Babakr 'Uthman, and Director of Planning Ahmad Taha Mahmud.

Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah, General Manager of the Islamic Bank of the Sudan, discussed the bank's successful experiment in rural development with AL-TADAMUN BUSINESS. He said: "Being an Islamic bank and a national institution, and because The Sudan is an agricultural country, the Islamic Bank of the Sudan has focused attention on rural development and on helping small farmers and investors. We arrived at what we believe to be a unique formula conceived by no other bank in the Sudan or abroad. The bank enters into a direct partnership with the farmer. He provides the land and the bank supplies all other farm needs such as irrigation, fuel, seeds, pumps, tractors, insecticides...etc. The bank does research to determine what means the farmer lacks in order to provide them under the terms of this partnership. In return, the bank regains a measure of supervision of the farm in order to assess its requirements and help the farmer get expert services heretofore unavailable to him because they require funding and technical expertise. Sometimes these services simply help make water available but they usually cover everything. When the partnership realizes a profit, the bank gets its share and the farmer gets his. In case of a shortfall, the farmer loses nothing and is under no further obligation to the bank since he provided nothing but the land while the bank funded all supplies and services. The bank does not require that the land be mortgaged so it remains the property of the farmer."

"Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah concluded: "Our project centers around providing small farmers with all farming needs without requiring them to pledge real estate or collateral. We were able to enter into such partnerships with a very large number of small farmers. We participated in planting potatoes in five or six farms in the Al-Shuhaynab region and in planting cereals with a number of farmers in Umm-Ruwabah, Shindi, and al-Damir and we concluded that the experiment was successful and of value to both parties. The results were promising even though it was an initial effort. We supplied the farmers with their needs throughout the farming season to good result. After the harvest, however, we discovered that farmers face marketing problems especially since prices become severely depressed at harvest time because of increased supply. In the past, farmers used to sell at very low prices to brokers and traders who would store the crops then sell them when prices go up. As a result, the Islamic Bank joined the farmer in his marketing effort in order to help him get the highest return. We now pay the farmer half the price of the crop which we store together and sell at the right time. This assures the farmer of the highest profit and the bank gets the rest. Our success so far has induced us to expand our project further, God Willing."

How was the concept of partnership developed?

That question was addressed by Dr. Badawi Babakr 'Uthman, Director of Rural Development at the Islamic Bank: "Since the Sudan is essentially an agricultural country, the state and all other institutions should focus

attention on the farm sector. Being a national and an Islamic banking institution, we sought to contribute to that effort with the realization that other institutions of agrarian funding have so far paid attention only to such large projects as al-Rahd and al-Jazirah, to government projects, and to projects dealing with rainwater and irrigation. We found that most agricultural sector funding has been limited to such large projects and unavailable to the important sector of small farming which plays a substantial role in agricultural production.

"We were specifically concerned with small vegetable and orchard farmers who play a vital role in supplying food. That sector was neglected and lacked the necessary financing due to several factors the most important of which is that traditional financial institutions insist on collateral and guarantees for the loans they make. Often times the small farmer can not provide such guarantees.

"This obvious disregard for the simple farmer suggested to the Islamic Bank that it might be able to play an important role in cooperation with this group of farmers which are spread throughout the Sudan, especially in the northern, eastern and central provinces, and Kurdufan. We felt that the bank could play that important role, especially in view of its Islamic orientation where profit and interest on loans are not of the essence. Preliminary studies indicated that the way to cooperate with small farmers was to provide them with direct services to cover their basic needs. A farmer in that sector has pressing needs for funding and for farm equipment and supplies such as tractors, seed, fertilizer, etc, which are not easily procured. We found that by directly providing the farmer with these essentials the bank could be of substantial help to this sector of small farmers and consequently of service to the agricultural sector which is the most important in the Sudan. We envisaged that this direct participation in the farmer's effort could also serve as a model for transactions without pre-conditions or requirements for collateral and guarantees. In other words, the bank would supply the farmer with a total plan that begins with preparing the soil for planting and ends with harvesting and marketing the crop.

"We launched the project on an experimental basis and entered into partnerships on a limited scale in order to avoid serious pitfalls. We are certain on the basis of 1986/87 indicators that this type of operation would of value to both the farmer and the bank and, of course, to the state.

"Our success this past farming season has encouraged us to expand our activity next year through the bank's numerous branches in the provinces."

Discussing the bank's rural development objectives, Director of Planning Ahmad Taha Mahmud said that attention to the agricultural sector was mandated in the Islamic Bank's charter which charged the bank with taking care of small producers and tradespeople and provide them with financial support.

He added: "Economists debate whether development should be accomplished from the top down or from the bottom up. Funding organizations that tend to deal with institutions and big farmers failed to bring about needed agricultural development. Their benefits were limited to a small group and did not reach small farmers. We at the Islamic Bank took a different route prompted by the importance—rather, the imperative—of reaching small farmers. We are convinced that small farmers represent a very huge but underutilized potential. They own land but farm it on a minor scale because they lack the means to do otherwise."

Ahmad Taha believes that even though funding is available in the Sudan, it is not properly available to the agricultural sector. Most traditional and usury-oriented banks believe that dealing with small farmers is complicated and risky and therefore handle mostly large entrepreneurs and investors who are sophisticated in banking operations and therefore are easier to deal with and can usually secure the loans they take out."

The Director of Planning added: "The Sudan is an agricultural country rich in natural resources. We believe that cooperation between small farmers and the various lending institutions could lead to real economic development. In pursuit of that objective, at the Islamic Bank we attempted to innovate certain funding vehicles that are not available at usury or other Islamic banks. These vehicles are essentially a partnership or marriage between Islam, Bank funding, the farmer's hard work and whatever other capital means he may own. We offer comprehensive financing in the sense that we study the project to determine what means are necessary but lacking then go about providing them at the right time and at the lowest possible cost. We endeavor to tailor these financing instruments to the kind of farming they serve. There is a plan for canal-irrigated land, another for rain-dependent farms, and a third for areas that utilize pumped water. But no matter what the plan, the Islamic Bank makes available all farming needs such as seeds, insecticides, tractors, pumps...etc. Every farmer is asked what contribution he can make in order to determine whether he is a simple farmer who owns nothing but the land or if he has some working capital. The bank then arranges for whatever else the farmer needs then follow through and supervise the farming activity to provide guidance and advice from planting to harvest.

"We don't transfer to the farmer ownership of the equipment. Their title remains with the bank which bears the costs of operation and maintenance. The small farmer can not afford the price of modern tractors and pumps but we make them available to him in a return for a modest fee. Such cooperation rewards the farmer with a larger crop and increases the supply of vegetables in neighboring markets. The consumer also benefits from lower prices resulting from plentiful harvests. The Islamic Bank also provided other farmers, with whom we have no production arrangements, with soft loans totaling more than 300,000 pounds this past farm season.

We did not ask them for any future guarantees but gave them loans to cover harvesting costs ..etc. In return, we were rewarded with their full cooperation and our loans were repaid without a single default."

General Manager Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah said the Islamic Bank requires only that a prospective farming partner own farm land and be truly willing to work it himself. "We give loans only to practicing farmers and have no conditions other than those two. We, on our part, supply all other farming needs such as seed, fertilizers, plowing, and irrigation as well as help with marketing."

How do Islamic Bank efforts in rural development differ from those of the Sudanese Agricultural Bank? Dr. Badawi Babakr 'Uthman says that "the Islamic Bank works in a style totally different from that of the Agricultural Bank which considers itself a lending institution that provides some financing for the purchase of engines, tractors, or seeds in return for certain guarantees and provided that the loans is paid off over a specified period. The Islamic Bank, by contrast, offers the farmer total financing that covers all stages of the farming operation from soil preparation to crop marketing. All this without requiring the farmer to mortgage his land or supply any other guarantees. We are partners with the farmer throughout the entire operation. We lose if he loses and we make a profit if he makes a profit. Our accounts begin with the farm season and close at its end.

"Furthermore, statistics show that Agricultural Bank loans benefit only a limited number of farmers. If, for instance, it loaned a farmer 65,000 pounds to buy a tractor, the beneficiary is only one farmer. With the Islamic Bank, on the other hand, one tractor serves no less than 30 farmers at no cost to them."

Bank General Manager Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah adds: "Figures for this past farming season (1986/87) indicate that the Islamic Bank expended some 2.1 million Sudanese pounds on tractors and supplies of grease, oil, fertilizer, and seeds. We participated with some 600 farmers in projects covering some 3,600 feddans of the arable land in al-Shuhaynab west of Umm Durman, in al-Damir, Shindi, Kunar in the Nubian mountains, and Umm Ruwabah. A comparison would indicate that the amount we spent on 600 small farmers is equal to what other traditional banks in the agricultural sector spend on only four or five big farmers. This underlines the importance of our work in rural development. We distribute allocations among the largest number of farmers thereby helping them to improve their lot and raise their income without having to supply guarantees."

In addition to successful partnerships with small farmers, the Islamic Bank was also successful in a project to raise poultry in cooperation with some limited income families.

Director of Planning Ahmad Taha Mahmud told AL-TADAMUN BUSINESS that in the experimental stage "we supplied some poor families with coups, 80 chickens each, and the necessary feed and breeding equipment. None was asked to contribute money or provide guarantees as a condition of participation. Rather, we recoup our financing outlays when these families pay back by installments only after the project bears fruit.

"We calculate that 35 families in Khartoum benefitted during the initial stage of this plan. Preliminary figures indicated success and we decided to expand the project to a larger number of families which would help increase the market supply of eggs and chickens. Our cost during the experimental stage was 140,000 pounds. We hope to move next year to take advantage of Dutch aid to The Sudan in the poultry sector. We have already been assigned some 2,000 coups with a capacity of 80 to 100 chickens each. We have also been allotted 100,000 chicks to remain in our care from age one day to age four months before we distribute them to the poor families participating in the project. We will supervise and help in the breeding of these chickens by providing feed and other necessities. We recently entered into other partnership to ensure the continuation of this project by building hatcheries and feed plants in order to develop future alternatives and be able to supply chicks to other families."

Did the Islamic Bank receive any state facility to help it with the poultry or farm partnership projects?

General Manager Muhammad 'Uthman Khalifah says: "The project has been, and still is, in the experimental stage but we must state for the record that we found the Ministry of Planning and Finance to be totally understanding of the bank's role. We received a lot of assistance from the ministry including an allotment of a million Guilders (\$500,000) of Dutch aid to the bank's project for producing families. That money will help us import chicks, cages, and feed-making equipment. The Bank of Sudan also helped us by exempting the project from the required reserves. We believe that this project will win the support of the ministries of Agriculture and Planning and Finance and all other agencies because of its impact on reducing rural emigration to the cities. The shortage of means of production during the past few years caused large numbers of villagers to move to the cities. Considerable social and economic changes in rural development could take place if other financial institutions followed our example. Some domestic and international agencies have already contacted the bank to inquire about our rural development projects. We were also approached by the High Commissioner for Refugees who told us he had nine million pounds allotted by West Germany for agrarian loans in the Eastern province of Sudan. He asked us to participate and we expressed full willingness to do so."

What future projects does the bank have for rural development?

Dr. Badawi Babakr 'Uthman, Director of Rural Development for the bank, says: "For next year we have a comprehensive plan to expand the work we began and to continue our projects in the areas where we had great initial success such as al-Shuhaynab, al-Srurab, Aslang, al-Jazirah, and Umm Ruwabah.

"We also have plans to introduce cows and fatten sheep in partnership with some farmers equipped to do so by virtue of land, water resources, and aptitude. We believe that livestock production complements farming and should be supported and encouraged.

"We are also considering cooperation with veterinary authorities to improve animal husbandry services. We are studying the feasibility of working with a number of Dutch firms experienced in farm production in order to improve our partnership project with Sudanese farmers. This year, we joined Total company and the Dutch

embassy in a program to introduce solar energy as an alternative source of power for irrigation pumps and for cold storage and lighting. We have a prototype solar pump currently operating in Marwa and have contracted with an American firm for five other solar pumps.

"We also had talks with the French about utilizing farm waste in energy either by generating "Biogas" or by using cotton stems to fuel electric generators. Experiments using the latter method are currently underway in al-Jazirah in central Sudan. We are additionally studying the feasibility of going into the businesses of silos and marketing in order to help farmers store their crops before marketing. It is our hope to provide the farmer with comprehensive services starting with soil preparation and until he pockets his monetary return."

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AFGHANISTAN

Yunis Khalis on Imposed War, Soviet Withdrawal
46000064b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
27 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Text] Maulvi Mohammad Yunis Khalis, President of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen (IUAM), has said the war in Afghanistan has been imposed on the Afghans by the Soviet Union and it can only end when the Soviet troops are withdrawn and the handful of Afghan communists are airlifted out of the country.

In an interview with 'The Muslim' in Peshawar, he maintained that the Soviet Union itself was the major hurdle in a peaceful solution of the Afghan dispute as the Afghans were quite capable of resolving their problems once outsiders stopped interfering in their affairs. He ruled out the possibility of a dialogue with Dr Najibullah's government by terming it as unrepresentative and unpopular and suggested that he and his few communist friends might as well be driven back across the border into the Soviet Union in tanks, in the same way that they were brought earlier to Kabul.

The 68-year old Afghan resistance leader boasted that the Kabul regime would not be able to withstand the Mujahideen onslaught more than three days once the Soviet troops withdraw. "In fact, we should not have to stretch ourselves too much because Dr Najibullah's own soldiers and functionaries would rise in revolt and overthrow him," he remarked. He refused to admit that the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) may have gained adherents or that the Kabul regime qualified to become a party to the dispute. Maulvi Yunis Khalis stressed that the Mujahideen and the Soviet Union were the two real parties and combatants and both were in a position to peacefully resolve the Afghan imeroglio by holding direct talks after creating the necessary conditions.

The Hezb-i-Islami chief was not favourably disposed towards the convening of Vietnam-style talks bringing all the parties to the negotiating table to resolve the Afghan issue. Saying that he knew little about the format of Vietnam talks, he commented that perhaps both the pro-U.S. and pro-USSR antagonist Vietnamese groups fighting against each other in North and South Vietnam enjoyed a degree of support but the case in Afghanistan was different because the Mujahideen were much more powerful and popular than the Afghan communists whose support was almost zero. He also opposed the stationing of UN peace-keeping forces in Afghanistan in event of a ceasefire pending a settlement and argued that no alien troops would be required to monitor a ceasefire, once the Soviets withdraw because there would be no other forces left other than the Mujahideen. "I assure you that the soldiers and people now siding with Kabul regime are almost all sympathetic to the Mujahideen's cause and would switch sides and turn on the rulers the moment Russians pullout," he remarked confidently.

Maulvi Yunis Khalis, who was elected chairman of the seven-party alliance sometimes back, informed that efforts have been stepped up to strengthen the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mumahideen (IUAM). In a bid to prepare it for assuming future responsibilities in the event of a victory. He said the Mujahideen affiliated to the seven parties now plan joint operations while the blue-prints of the future Islamic Government of Afghanistan were also being prepared. He added that the IUAM was also accelerating its efforts to woo Afghan soldiers and officials now siding with Kabul regime by offering them amnesty. In this context, he appealed to all Afghans especially soldiers, in his capacity as Chairman of the alliance to defect to the Mujahideen as it was their religious duty to wage 'Jihad' against atheists. "We promise the soldiers that they would not be forced to fight on our side against their will and their arms would not be confiscated. We would allot them to use their weapons for defending themselves against enemy attacks," he said.

Maulvi Khalis elaborated that the capabilities of all Afghans now serving in the enemy camp would be utilised by the Islamic Government in the development of their homeland because the IUAM knew that many of them were sympathetic to the Mujahideen cause. He pointed out that Afghan throughout history have never accepted foreign domination and Soviet attempts to enslave them were bound to fail.

He said Sardar Daoud, Tarakki and Amin were murdered because the Soviets were murdered because the Soviets were not satisfied with their degree of enslavement. "How can the proud Afghans accept alien domination as it was not in their blood and psyche," he asked. He did not entirely rule out that Mujahideen commanders and Afghan officials may have met in certain provinces but explained that in most cases the communists maintained secret contacts with Mujahideen to ensure their own safety or to discuss surrender. He said the large-scale desertion of soldiers and defection of officials had proved that all efforts at indoctrination has failed and the Afghans were now convinced that the future of Afghanistan belonged to the resistance movement.

Referring to Dr Najibullah's direct appeals to field commanders over the heads of the Peshawar-based resistance leadership to join his so-called National Reconciliation Programme, Maulvi Khalis thought these were desperate moves as if a man was stretching at straws while drowning. he said repression, persecutions, bombardments shellings and bombs explosions had failed to weaken the resistance and political ploys and monetary inducements were the newest forms of manipulating support for the Kabul regime and propping its drooping morale. He claimed infiltrators like Ismatullah Muslim were publicised as Mujahideen commanders and were later made to defect to the Kabul regime to demoralise the resistance but such ploys invariable backfire.

Maulvi Yunis Khalis pointed out that the Loya Jirgah was the latest political game aimed at legitimising the puppet regime of Dr Najibullah. He claimed it was insulting and a disgrace to Afghan traditions to convene a Loya Jirgah in the presence of Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan. He felt the Loya Jirgah was not worth discussing in the wake of Dr Najib's own confessions that his regime did not control a major portion of the country. He claimed that cities controlled by the enemy was due to the presence of Soviet tanks but they felt unsafe even amidst tight security.

Speaking in fluent Pashto, the leader of the alliance said he and his colleagues in the IUAM were ready to meet UN mediator Diego Cordovez when the next visits Islamabad to hear his suggestion. [sentence as published] He however, made it clear that this meeting would not be secret and its decisions would be released to the press to rule out chances of confusion and mistrust which might be created. He informed that an emissary of Mr Cordovez had met him in New York recently and he was told that a meeting in Islamabad was possible.

Evading a direct reply to a question about former King Zahir Shah, the Hezb-i-Islami chief explained that the Mujahideen were struggling for an Islamic Government and not to install some personality as the head of the regime. He felt it was again a Soviet ploy to sow seeds of dissension among the Mujahideen by making them fight over personalities. "We have decided that whoever is more suited in accordance with Islamic injunctions and requirements should be asked to lead the government," he explained.

Maulvi Yunis Khalis said the eighth anniversary of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan had come at a time when fierce fighting was continuing in an around Khowst, and action was also taking place in Konar, Nangarhar, Kandahar, Paktika, Faryab and in many other provinces. He argued that bombardment in Khowst and the Soviet offense showed that their peace overtures were misleading. He however pointed out that the severity of the fighting only proved that Mujahideen were gaining strength and nearing their destination. He explained in reply to a query that Mujahideen were concentrating their efforts in strategic province like Paktia, Nangarhar, Konar, Herat, Badakhshan, Kandahar, and Kabul because they want to keep their supply routes open and at the same time pressurise the enemy. In reply to another question, he thought Dr Najibullah's brother Siddiquallah defected to the Mujahideen commander Ahmed Shah Masoud in Panjshir valley.

Maulvi Yunis Khalis, was born in 1919 in the historic village of Gandamak in Nangarhar province where Amir Yaqub signed an agreement with the British which many Afghans describe as unequal and unjustified. He was studied in the Deoband Madressa in Indian and is a pupil of Maulana Abdul Haq of Akora Khattak, who is also an MNA. His father Abdul Akbar had fought against the British. He is a Pashto poet and some of his verses

against Daoud and Tarakki were published earlier. He is a literary man and was editor of Pashto monthly "Payam-i-Haq" in Kabul where former Afghan minister and Parchami, Bareq Shafie, was his assistant. Earlier, in 1955 he edited PASHTO daily "Waranga" published from Khost. He arrived in Pakistan in 1975 and has led resistance against all subsequent rulers of Afghanistan. His elder son Nasim was imprisoned for five years by Sardar Daoud in Mazar-i-Sharif in April 1974 when he was 21 years old and his whereabouts since then are unknown. It is believed that Nasim, who was a Hafiz-i-Quran, was killed during Amin's reign.

Another son of Maulvi Khalis is studying in Medina University while the elder, Anwarul Haq, is reportedly fighting in Khost. The four year old Mohammad, from his second wife, is seen playing with his two sisters in Maulvi Khalis' bungalow in University Town Peshawar. Both his wives are alive.

Maulvi Yunis Khalis in the past maintained close contacts with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and accompanied him on many visits in Afghanistan. He was known for his nationalist views and still believes in Afghan nationalism. He however was pained that Bacha Khan did not enquire about his welfare when he migrated as a refugee to Pakistan in 1975.

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Rabbani on Soviet Withdrawal, Zahir Shah, Mujahidin Unity
46000064d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Dec 87 p 2

[Interview with Prof Burhanuddin Rabbani by Maleeha Lodhi]

[Text] This interview of Prof Burhanuddin Rabbani by Maleeha Lodhi appeared in our issue of May 20, 1987. It is being reproduced as it contains an outline of a formula for setting up of an interim government in Afghanistan.—Ed.

"The Mujahidin are ready to talk directly to the Soviets but the Russians must overcome their empty pride and recognise the reality of the Mujahidin" says Afghan resistance leader Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani. In an interview with "The Muslim" at his party office in Islamabad, the head of the Jamiat-i-Islami discussed a wide range of issues dealing with the war and peace in Afghanistan. The articulate and soft-spoken leader spoke in Persian in his characteristic professional style, helped by an interpreter. Extracts from the interview:

Q. In a recent speech, you said the Soviets are trying to achieve on the political level what they failed to get militarily in Afghanistan. But surely the Afghan Mujahidin also cannot expect to achieve on any negotiating table what they have been unable to win on the battlefield?

A. You are right that the problem cannot be solved militarily because defeating the military machine of a superpower like Russia is not easy.... But we have only two choices, either to (fight for) freedom or (submit to) slavery. For freedom we are seeking political means. We are ready to talk to the Russians directly. The Russians should overcome the empty pride that they have. They must recognise the reality of the Mujahidin. They (Soviets) tell the Pakistanis to recognise the reality of (Dr) Najib's regime, which is not actually established. If it was stable, why should Russian troops be there? But the Mujahidin are a reality they must recognise. They must talk directly with the Mujahidin. We believe this is in the interest of the Russians themselves. Because the further the war continues, more Russians will be killed and their problems will multiply. So we want to talk directly with the Russians and we are also ready to accept two of our neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Iran in such direct talks.

Q. If what is called the Zahir Shah option for peace in Afghanistan becomes a serious possibility and appears as the only viable one, what will be your position, especially if one were to see the ex-King's future role as a caretaker one in an interim administration, rather than in a full-fledged interim government?

A. There are two points. First, the way that Zahir Shah's return has been proposed, which comes mainly from Russian circles is not for resolving the problem. The Russians have certain aims and one of them has been to create disunity in the Mujahidin alliance. Thank God that did not happen. But there are other problems. We don't see Zahir Shah having the capability to administer an administration. And although there are a number of people who support Zahir Shah, there are many others who consider him responsible for atrocities and the catastrophe that our people are facing today. Because he was the one who let the communists become active. There is no lack of leadership in Afghanistan. Other people can be found. There should be a new system, a new administration, and new faces. We feel that is neither in the interest of Afghanistan nor in the interest of peace. And also as we understand it, Zahir Shah will not play this gamble until the Mujahidin accept him.

Q. How do you respond to the Soviet wish for continuity between the present Kabul regime and a future government, in a peace package, which implies the participation of some Communist figures in a future government in Afghanistan.

A. We believe this is not in the interest of peace. People responsible for atrocities cannot be included in an administration which is supposed to bring peace and a just solution to the problem. We think that rather than political manoeuvres there should be a serious effort to solve the problem in a just manner. The Mujahidin should give assurances and guarantees that there will be no massacre, and the Russians would give assurances that they will not interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan.

Q. What then do you see as the realistic way to peace? Can you elaborate on your idea of an interim administration as outlined in a speech you made earlier?

A. The first step is to dissolve the (present) regime, especially the military, police and KHAD (the Afghan secret service). The Cabinet should be dissolved. The deputy ministers could carry on the affairs of the ministries for an interim period. A team of previous military men, especially generals, lawyers and workers of the ministry of justice could be appointed and they can have someone as their head. They would not be a government but form an interim administration responsible for internal security. It would have military power, but only be armed with light weapons.

The heavy weapons could be stored. They will not enter into (international) agreements or send out ambassadors. The Mujahidin will give the assurance that they will not take any action against the administration or the Russians during the period of withdrawal. And also there can be international observers from Pakistan and Iran, other Muslim countries and maybe, the UN. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops there will be elections, a new constitution will be written for Afghanistan and a new Government will be formed. But these are preliminary proposals, and the coalition (alliance) will discuss them.

Q. What can the Soviets do to concretely demonstrate to you their sincerity and seriousness about wanting to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan?

A. They can start by decreasing the war and starting to withdraw their troops. This would be the most just way of showing a gesture. The Russians have been concentrating their attacks on the areas that the Mujahidin have been able to develop some kind of local administration. If Russians withdraw their troops from those areas, peace and security will come to such areas. As you know Russian agents, the communists, are concentrated only in Kabul. So if they withdraw from 28 provinces, peace and security will come there. The only problem then will be in Kabul.

Q. In a recent speech you spoke of a propaganda offensive by the Soviets and you also suggested this had been quite successful globally. Do you, as a result of this, fear a weakening of international support for the Mujahidin?

A. The propaganda was well-planned and was launched all at once. So it took the whole world, even the Mujahidin, by surprise. People thought that probably the Russians were sincere. But with the passage of time, and what happened after that, shows that they are not sincere. The Russians were not able to come up with any concrete plans or programme for the withdrawal of their troops. So this fact together with the Mujahidins' attempts to nullify Russians propaganda has resulted in making this issue an old one. And once it becomes old, it loses its effectiveness.

Q. How significant a difference to the war has the supply of Stinger missiles made?

A. As the reports of the shooting down of Russian planes shows, they have been significant all over. Compared to last year there might be some increase (in Soviet aircraft shot down) this year, but this is due more to greater Mujahidin activity and probably also due to the Russians using their airforce much more.

Q. Although the idea of an elected Shura or Council of the Seven-Party Mujahidin alliance is an old one why was the need felt now to press ahead with it?

A. You are right the proposal was there for some time, but it takes time for a process to reach a particular point. Also the Mujahidin feel that they need a stronger unity.

Q. What are your views on the statement by Hezbi Islami leader Maulvi Yunus Khalis in which he said women will not have the right to vote for such a Shura.

A. He was probably referring to the difficulties, in existing conditions, for women to vote.

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'Asif Mohseni on Victory, Mujahidin Disunity
46000064c Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Interview with 'Asif Mohseni, leader of Harkat Islami Afghanistan conducted by Shabbir Naqvi; date and place not given]

[Text] Ayatullah Sehikh Muhammad Asif Mohseni is the leader of Harkat Islami Afghanistan. He is a refuted scholar of high erudition. He received his education from Hoza-e-Ilmiya Najaf-e-Ashraf Iraq. He had an opportunity to be with the great Mujtahid like Ayatullah Syed Mohsin Hakim, Ayatullah Syed Abdul Qasim Kho'i and Ayatullah Syed Ruhallah Khomeyni. After completing his education he was honoured as Mujtahid and became an illustrious teacher at the Hoza-e-Ilmiya Najaf-e-Ashraf. His native city is Qandahar (Afghanistan) where he established Madaris, Imambaras and mosques. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan he migrated to Qom Iran. He is the author of more than forty books on subjects like philosophy, principles of Fiqh, Rajaal politics, Islamic Economics, Akhtar, ethics and Islamic society. The central office of his Harkat Islami Afghanistan [is] in Qom with its active branches inside Afghanistan:

Q: How do you appreciate the Kabul government's offer to the Shia community in Afghanistan for high offices?

A: Mr Abdur Rahim Atif, leader of the National Patriotic Front also wrote me a letter of this nature. I outright rejected his offer. I told him that one million Afghan Muslims have been killed by the Soviet troops. We are

not after offices or any other worldly gains. The main target of our Jihad is the protection of 'Deen' and the enforcement of Islam and its sovereignty in Afghanistan. We will not stop Jihad till we achieve our goal Shoor Markazi Millat-e-Hazra and its Mujahideen have valiantly liberated their forty districts from the yoke of Soviet dominance and now these districts are under complete control of the said Shoor-e-Markazi.

Q: Do you think that this offer of ministers is more to disintegrate the Mujahideen force?

A: Of course you know that there exists a ministry for Nationalities and Tribes in the Najibullah government with the main object to break the Afghan Mujahideen into pieces, so that the Soviets can easily realise their dreams for keeping Afghanistan under their permanent control. Let the Russians and their allies in Afghanistan know that this will never happen.

Q: In your opinion, what is the just line of solution of the Afghan problem?

A: Summit meetings and Geneva talks can't solve the Afghan problem. Russia should have direct talks with the Mujahideen with the pre-condition that Moscow should declare positively its withdrawal from Afghanistan. I think that three factors are essential for our victory (i) to intensify Jihad, (ii) political propaganda on international scale against Russian aggression and (iii) unity in the ranks of Mujahideen.

Q: How can you form unity in the ranks of Mujahideen?

A: Though there is unity on the war fronts yet I confess that we are lacking political unity. It is the obligation of all the Afghans outside as well as inside the country to forge complete unity. Victory demands unity.

Q: Would you spell the causes of this disunity?

A: Firstly, ambitious approach towards the national problem, secondly, interference of the alien forces in Afghan problem and thirdly differences of opinion on the mode of government to be established in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Russian forces.

Q: How far is it true that organisations of Shia Mujahideen are facing great difficulties in supporting their fighters inside Afghanistan?

A: Yes, my organisation Harkat Islamic Afghanistan is a proof of this reality. We are not aided by any agency in the world, even from Iran or Pakistan. Our people outside and inside Afghanistan, pay us Khums. Our Mujahideen are short of food, they are forced to live on grass and leaves. They are in dire need of ammunition, medicine, etc. etc. Jihad is obligatory for our Mujahideen; they are fighting with the force of faith.

Q: What role the Muslim world is playing in Afghan Jihad?

A: God forbid, if Mujahideen are defeated, it would affect the whole of the Muslim world and if we succeed, the Muslim World would be immunised from Communism. Marxism is a secret threat to the Muslim world. We are not fighting for Afghanistan. We are fighting for human values, and Islam. Our Jihad is not Afghan Jihad, but unfortunately, the Muslim world has taken it as such. It is Islamic Jihad and it is obligatory for every Muslim of the world to support it. It is the responsibility of OIC and other Muslim organisations to support us and boycott Russia. Unluckily, the Muslim world is lacking unity. Anyhow, we are very grateful to the people of Pakistan and Iran for their hospitality and their assistance in whatever form it is available.

Q: Do you favour that Russian should have direct dialogue with Pakistan on Afghan issue[s]?

A: No, we don't want that Pakistan and Iran should plead our case before Russia. We are wise and old enough to deal with the problem. It is only the Mujahideen who can plead, represent or have talks with Russia.

Q: It is said that majority of the Afghan people would accept Zahir Shah, as the head of the new government. What is your assessment?

A: Our problem is not Zahir Shah instead it is the disunity among the Mujahideen. If there is unity, then there is no need of Zahir Shah. We will not arbitrarily kill the Khalqis and Parchamis. There would be Islamic courts of justice. The enemies of Mujahideen have killed one million Afghan Muslims. We don't accept a natural agent. The target of our Jihad is protection of Deen and enforcement of Islamic System, Jihad will continue till we achieve our goal.

Q: Did President Reagan take into confidence the leadership of Mujahideen over the Afghan issue, before meeting the Soviet leader, Gorbachev?

A: I don't know.

Q: Soviets say that the government to be established in Kabul should not be pro or anti, America or Russia?

A: Before Soviet occupation Afghanistan was a non-aligned country. Its geopolitical character demands that Afghanistan should be a non-aligned country. We will not be dictated by Russia, our policy would be la sharqia, la gharbia (neither East nor West).

Q: Dr Najibullah talked of establishing a "National Reconciliation government" and anticipated that those in exile may take part in such government. How do you evaluate this claim?

A: "National reconciliation" is a satanic game. We don't even accept the Islamic government set up by Najibullah. We would offer Russian Islam to America, this reconciliation government is something very stupid which Najib dreamed of. He dreams that Mujahideen would forget the bloodshed of one million Afghan Muslims, and would surrender the independence of Afghanistan to Russian aggressors, and make friends with "Parcham" and "Khalq" parties. The Afghan Mujahideen will neither enter the so-called "Patriotic Front" nor will they make any deal on the independence of Afghanistan and Sovereignty of Islam. We will never co-operate with those gangs. We believe that the Islamic and political dignity of our revolution and country requires the overthrow of the puppet regime and the prosecution and execution of the Parcham and Khalq parties. That would be the way of restoring the dignity of our oppressed people.

Q: To what extent the intermediary role of the UN representative could be effective in solving the Afghan problem?

A: Government may hold negotiations in order to solve its problems. But the problem of Afghanistan, which is the result of the Russian aggression, should be solved only by the true followers of the Prophet, that is the faithful, devoted and uncompromising Mujahideen. We shall never accept the guardianship or mandatory role of any authority whatsoever. We also believe that no government may be more compassionate or concerned than ourselves. It would be ridiculous to hold negotiations to end a war, in which none of the parties actually attend. This is a war between the Soviets and our proud and faithful fighters. So what is the purpose of holding negotiations between Pakistan and Kabul.

Q: What is your view about the Islamic revolution on the International Scale?

A: It is quite necessary to form a kind of international Islamic revolutionary council consisted of most of the Islamic states in order to drive away the international imperialism and pave the way for establishment of a unified international Islamic State or at least national Islamic states. We should inevitably admit that the more a revolution is confined to national borders the more vulnerable it becomes.

/9274

Prospects of Settlement in 1988 Examined
46000064a Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Dec 87 pp 1-2

[Article by Malleha Lodhi]

[Text] Eight years after they sent in the Red Army to Afghanistan, the Soviets seem to be trying harder than ever to extricate themselves from their Afghan quagmire. Over the years Moscow appears to have realised that the

first and only direct Soviet military intervention outside the Warsaw Pact bloc of countries was a blunder. The result of that blunder was a bloody and brutal war that claimed over a million lives and caused the exodus of a third of the Afghan population. It earned Moscow worldwide condemnation, raised doubts about its motives elsewhere and hindered its efforts to achieve detente with the West as well as mend its ties with the Islamic world and China.

What contributed to the Kremlin desire for a negotiated end to the war was the unrelenting and increasingly better coordinated military struggle waged by the Mujahideen and the advent of new Soviet leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev which after all was not a party to the decision to send troops to Afghanistan back in December 1979. Certainly since the Kremlin Boss referred to Afghanistan as a "bleeding wound" in February 1986, his concern seems to have been to prevent Brezhnev's blunder from becoming Gorbachev's dirty war.

This has stimulated the desire for a political settlement. But it also confronted Moscow with the dilemma of finding a graceful way to pull out without becoming a rout and without appearing to be abandoning its protégés in Kabul. The most significant aspect of the dilemma has been how to get out of Afghanistan without leaving it open to strategic advantage for the West. And although the Soviets have always dismissed comparison with Vietnam, some officials have not been unmindful of the rough similarities. Yuly Vorontsov for example recently said he did not want supporters of the PDPA regime to be brought out of Kabul "on the struts of helicopters", in a direct reference to the U.S. evacuation of Saigon.

Moscow's pursuit of a decent exit from Afghanistan has been reflected over the past year in its progressive climbing down on several of the previously held positions. They include the willingness to shorten the timeframe for a Soviet troops withdrawal to a year or less (from the original four year offer), the acceptance of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan as well as the implication of this for the shape of a future interim government in Kabul. During the Washington Summit Mr Gorbachev publicly declared that "the political decision on a withdrawal has been taken." The mood for accommodation was also demonstrated in his statement immediately after the Summit that Moscow was not looking towards a pro-Soviet Government in Kabul, but wanted assurances that it would not be a pro-American regime either. An entirely new formulation this shows clearly that the Soviet bottom line has shifted quite significantly.

The Super Power summit was deemed to have been a disappointment by those observers who were rather unrealistically expecting a dramatic breakthrough on Afghanistan. However, such observers may have missed the significance of certain substantive aspects of the exchanges that did take place during the Summit. These exchanges were significant in at least three respects.

First, as a senior State Department official recently disclosed, during the Summit, Mr Gorbachev made a new offer to have Soviet troops refrain from offensive combat operations during their period of withdrawal from Afghanistan. News reports suggest that the significance of this offer was neither adequately understood nor pursued by American officials at the time. But the Soviet suggestion, which American Under Secretary of State Mr M. Armacost later described as "positive" and which was also noted with warm approval by Islamabad, is important. It marks an effort to allay the fears voiced both by Islamabad and Washington that the Soviets could use the period of withdrawal for a final mopping up operation against the resistance. The draft accords negotiated in the UN-sponsored talks at Geneva provide for a cut-off of assistance to the resistance simultaneously with start of the Soviet force withdrawal. This in theory makes for a period of a symmetry and imbalance in which the Soviets can use their residual force against the Mujahideen. Therefore, the Soviet offer to refrain from military activities during withdrawal is an attempt to provide the kind of a safeguard that can comfort fears over the imbalance.

The second significant aspect of the Washington Summit (as regard Afghanistan) lay in U.S. reassurances to the Soviets that Washington would stop supplying arms to the resistance once the Soviets began to withdraw. These reassurances were aimed at dispelling the confusion created when President Reagan said in a pre-summit interview that there would be no such cut-offs of aid to the Afghan resistance. "We made clear said Mr Armacost later that we will stand by the obligations embedded in the Geneva understandings once there is an agreement on a time-table for withdrawal." [Quotation marks as published.] He was referring to that portion of the Geneva accord that unambiguously calls for a simultaneous end to outside interference and the start of Soviet troops withdrawal 60 days from the time the agreement is signed.

Third, as Mr Armacost also confirmed the Soviets no longer link the promise pullout from Afghanistan to the make-up of the future interim government. Dropping this conditional linkage seems a positive development.

Does all this make prospects for an Afghan peace more propitious. The answer should be yes, keeping in view the fact that the search for a political settlement has advanced to a promising point, in which the principle elements of a peace agreement are already in place. A 35-page withdrawal agreement negotiated during seven rounds of talks at Geneva is complete except for the blank on the timeframe. With the new Soviet offer of a 12-month or less timeframe expected to be formally tabled at Geneva, the next round can be the last one. It is with this aim in mind that UN mediator Diego Cordovez has been holding talks in Moscow and also plans to visit the region in January.

However, as UN officials correctly point out, Moscow would be encouraged to fix a firm date for the withdrawal once an agreement can be hammered out on the complexion of a future interim government (that would assure the safety of Afghan communists). A final workable settlement rests on the willingness on the part of the various parties for the compromise on this vital issue. The Pakistan Foreign Office had recently reiterated that this question is for the Afghan people to decide. But General Ziaul Haq had recently stated more than once that an interim government comprising the Afghan refugees, Mujahideen leader and the Kabul regime would be acceptable to Islamabad. However, Washington seemed to insist on a complete replacement of the PDPA regime.

And the seven-party Mujahideen alliance still publicly refuses to have anything to do with the Kabul regime. Perhaps the resistance ought to find the Vietnam enology instructive in this regard and should (like the Vietkong and the North Vietnamese did with respect to American forces) focus on getting Soviet troops out, rather than argue over details on a future regime that can after all prolong the presence of Soviet troops in their country. Like the Soviets, the Majahideen also have to accept the painful reality that what they have been unable to achieve in the battlefield cannot now be obtained for them at the negotiating table, nor can the Tanzimaat expect Islamabad to catapult them to power in Kabul.

What is nonetheless clear is that the time has come to evolve a framework and modalities to consult Afghan themselves over questions affecting their future. In the absence of creative and workable proposals in this regard from various parties to the conflict themselves, UN ideas on the matter ought to be given a chance. A commitment from Moscow, Washington and Islamabad to support or at least not block UN efforts at this juncture can provide an impetus to the peace process. Mr Corcovez who also recently visited Rome for talks with Ex-King Zahir Shah, has been striving to organise broadbased negotiations among the various Afghan factions that could pave the way for a stable interim government. Islamabad and Washington have enough leverage with the resistance to persuade them to cooperate with initiatives to convene an all party dialogue. Moscow for its part needs to now translate its hints into a categorical acceptance that the future interim government will be dominated by non-communists. This could provide others with incentive to compromise. Last month, American Secretary of State George Shultz said that an announcement of a withdrawal timetable must precede work on forming a transitional government, but if that sequence could be agreed on, the U.S. would "work to help create that sort of situation." The time has come for all the parties to contribute in a spirit of accommodation to that situation. Not to do so would prolong a tragic war.

BANGLADESH

Officials Meet With Chittagong Tribal Leaders
46001171 Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
18 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] A five-member Bangladesh Government delegation, whose composition was not immediately available, yesterday met a team from Chittagong Hill Tracts Solidarity Organisation, a group made up of hardcore tribals in a bid to resolve the tribal issue.

Government sources connected with the vexing issue exuded optimism in predicting an early solution to the problem.

Trouble has been brewing in Chittagong Hill Tracts since 1972 and there had been no serious attempt at diluting the tension resulting from economic deprivation, the source said.

He would not call it a political problem. It is more of a socio-economic problem, he remarked. He said any agreement with the rebel tribals would be within the concept of a sovereign Bangladesh. He said there was no scope of any deviation on this point.

The National Committee on Chittagong Hill Tracts headed by Planning Minister A.K. Khondokar has already drawn up its report after several forays deep into the hill tracts where even district administration people have not set their feet before.

The report will be given final shape and placed before President Ershad after the outcome of the dialogue between the government and the tribals has been incorporated in the findings.

Among the concessions being offered to the tribals to bring them back to mainstream are revival of 'Raja' system, fixation of a higher quota for them in all government services, raising of police force from within the tribals for maintaining local law and order and return of lands illegally grabbed by plains men to their original owners.

An official closely connected with the National Committee on Hill Tracts told THE NEW NATION that the hardcore tribals had considerably mellowed their attitude and had even withdrawn such irrational demand for troops pull out from Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Once the lands illegally grabbed by the plainsmen are returned to the tribal people, much of their economic woes would be gone, the Government official said.

The economic rehabilitation of the tribals is the main concern of the government. The tribals had not reaped the benefits of government development programmes before, claimed a Government official.

The effort henceforth would be to see tribals being associated with all programmes at the upazila level so that they acquire some financial benefit out of it.

Banks would be asked to advance loans to the tribals to boost farm production particularly pineapple. The Government would also try to protect the tribals from the pernicious influence of the middlemen so that they can fetch a fair price for their produce.

07310

Jamaat-e-Islami Demands Release of Detainees
46001172 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in
English 19 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh on Friday demanded immediate release of all political detenus including Jamaat leaders Mufti A. Sattar, Maulana A. Kader, Mr Lutfor Rahman, Maulana A. Hye, Mr A.N.M. Solaiman, Mr Shahidullah, Dr A. Hossain, Dr Azizul Huq, Lawyer Shamsul Huq Chowdhury and Barrister Syed Ishtiaq Ahmed.

The demand was made at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party with Acting Ameer Abbas Ali Khan in the chair.

Despite the Government's announcement of release of detenus there were fresh arrest of Jamaat leaders from different places, the meeting alleged. The meeting demanded provision of appeal for those tried in military tribunals. It also demanded withdrawal of false cases.

Meanwhile, the City Unit of the party expressed concern over what it said treatment of political detenus as ordinary prisoners.

Jamaat will observe "Detenus Release Day" today (Saturday) through a rally at 4 p.m. at its city office.

07310

INDIA

Sikhs Claim Pakistan Training Them

Punjabi Youth Cross Border to Pakistan
46240007 Calcutta RAVIVAR in Hindi
28 Nov 87 pp 21-24

[Text] "The first day the army began guarding the Dera Baba Nanak border area was 24 August 1984. Soldiers were tidying up their belongings. They were quite unfamiliar with the border. This was a golden opportunity for us. By evening, nearly 23 young men from nearby villages had gathered in the Dera Baba Nanak gurudwara. We were all in high spirits. Around 10 pm, as soon as we found the opportunity, in single file formation we

reached the Indian border with the blessings of Waheguru. In almost no time we were in Pakistan." Gurbakhsh Singh, worker of the A.B. Sikh Students Federation.

"On 26 August we had been drinking since morning; it was evening and we were sitting on the outskirts of the village; all of us were dead drunk. Suddenly it occurred to us, why not go to Pakistan. The Indo-Pak border was only a short distance from the village. In a state of intoxication, with the bottle in hand, my four comrades and I entered Pakistani territory. No one stopped us, no one warned us." Natha Singh, Nathi Village, Haruwal.

"During those days in our area, rumor was hot that many young men were going to Pakistan. I, too, wanted to see Pakistan. According to another rumor going strong in the Gurdaspur District, the military would not leave any Sikh young men alive. Partly because of fear of the military, and partly because of my affection for the youth of the area, I left India and went to Pakistan." Jagtar Singh, Shahpur Goraya Village.

These three statements are by Punjabi youth who in July, August, and September 1984 crossed the Indian border and went to Pakistan. After spending nearly 2 years in Pakistan, these young men are now leading normal lives in Punjab villages. In the Gurdaspur and Amritsar districts of the Punjab, they are known as "Pakistan returned."

The question is what was the reason that these Punjabi youth, without any definite plan, while they were drinking, went to Pakistan for fun? What did these young men do in Pakistan for nearly two years? Why did Pakistan permit them to return so easily?

J.P. Viridi, Senior Superintendent of Police of Gurdaspur District, which is considered to be the stronghold of the extremists, told RAVIVAR that the youth of the district started going to Pakistan after the 4 June 1984 "Operation Blue Star" at the Golden Temple. One reason was the rumor circulating after "Operation Blue Star," that Sant Jarnail Singh was still alive. Some youth went to Pakistan believing this rumor to be true. Another important piece of propaganda was that the military soldiers would shoot on sight the Sikh youth of this area. The majority of the youth fled because of this fear. The third category of the youth going to Pakistan included large numbers who just wanted to have some fun. In this group of Pakistan-goers, there were also some young men who actually returned with arms. Viridi said that some smugglers also took advantage of the confusion during this period.

After touring villages in Gurdaspur District along the Pakistan border, it was found that entering Pakistan from India is not particularly difficult. According to police sources, in 1984 nearly 500 young men went to Pakistan; 175 youth from Gurdaspur District alone. A large number of young men from the villages of Shahpur

Goraya, Haruwal, Thethke, Qadian, Dharmgotrandhawa, Sadar Batala, Kalanour, Buttar Kalan, Jakkarwal, Chheen Kotwal, Lehal, Sohal, and Kanuwan in the Gurdaspur District went to Pakistan.

The group of 500 young men who went to Pakistan in July and August 1984 was warmly received in Pakistan. A secret service source disclosed that the Pakistani Rangers guarding the Pakistani border have set up 14 posts covering Gurdaspur District. Prominent among these are Sandhu, Dera Baba Nanak, Mardana, Chandrawali, Varoke, Bahriya, Narowal, Korlibajwa, and Nangli Doaba. To keep in contact with these posts, an office has also been set up on the border.

What are the Pakistani designs on the Punjab? Indian spies have some idea from the information received from the nearly 400 youth who have returned from Pakistan. Last year when 25-year-old Manvir Singh of the Khalistan Commando Force was captured, many startling facts came to light. According to Manvir, the announcement of Khalistan was made at the instigation of Pakistan. Manvir admitted during the police investigation that money and arms in huge quantities were coming from Pakistan.

Manvir reported that Gurjit Singh, a relative of Bhinderanwale, said that on his return from Pakistan, Pakistan had stopped sending arms because we are not making the announcement of Khalistan. If we make the announcement of Khalistan, Pakistan will send more arms. The announcement of Khalistan on 29 April 1986 was made only after consultation between Gurjit and other leaders.

The fact that Pakistan has a hand in the extremist activities going on in India is confirmed by talking to the youths who have returned from Pakistan. It has been learned from talking to these youth and also from the statements of top police officers of the Gurdaspur District that the youth going to Pakistan were divided into three categories by the border officers there. Category "A" included those young men going from India to Pakistan who had been sent by sources associated with the extremists active in the Punjab. Category "B" included those youth who had no contact sources but who, from their conversations, appeared to be useful to the Pakistani officers. Category "C" included those youth who had gone to Pakistan merely for fun and who could not be of any use to the Pakistani officials.

As soon as the Category "A" youth crossed the Indo-Pak border, they were taken by Pakistani officials to a pre-arranged location to begin a training program. When the Category "B" youth crossed the Indo-Pak border, they were immediately taken to a private residence and kept there for a few days. When the Pakistani officials felt that they could be prepared for the extremist activities, they were taken to the head office for training. The Category "C" young men going from India to Pakistan were sent directly to the Pakistani jail in Faisalabad.

Talking to these young men, one learns that a certain Colonel Malik of the Pakistani army used to interview the youth going from India to Pakistan.

Secret sources also disclosed that the extremists conduct their operations from the famous Gurudwara Panja Sahib, located in Pakistan. This is the birthplace of Guru Nanak and is a very large center for Sikh pilgrims. During the course of conversation with these youth, it was also learned that the Canadian Sikh terrorist leaders visited Pakistan. In this connection, the name of Daljit Singh, secretary of the International Sikh Youth Federation Toronto, [Canada] finds prominent mention. It is also learned that in Pakistan, Bhai Kanwar Singh, Amrik Singh, Atendarpal Singh, and Ajaib Singh specifically serve to inflame the extremist trainees against India. Another secret learned from these youth was that the Pakistani government is very liberal in granting visas to the Canadian Sikh leaders visiting Pakistan.

The ages of the youth going to Pakistan between July and August 1984 was in the range of 14 to 50 [as published] years. Most of these boys were unemployed or illiterate and their current vocation is simply roaming in the villages. Nearly 80 percent of them were Jats. None of them crossed the border alone. They crossed the border in groups of 2 to 30 persons.

Why did the Sikh youth who had gone to Pakistan so enthusiastically become so homesick for India? How did the Pakistani authorities treat them in jail? To learn this, the author visited the villages of these youth in order to interview them. Shahpur Goraya village is located on the Gudasapur-Dera Baba Nanak road. Fourteen youth from this village alone went to Pakistan whose border is 7 kilometers away. Farming is the main occupation in this village with a population of nearly 2,500, where Jat Sikhs' influence holds sway. The village chief, Sohan Singh, arranged the interview by inviting the youth to his residence.

It is nearly one year since 23-year-old Joginder Singh returned from Pakistan; today he is a farmer. Joginder described his reason for going to Pakistan in these words, "Rumor was hot that any Sardar will be shot on sight. Joginder crossed the Indian border at six in the evening. Accompanying him were Suba Singh, Jagtar Singh, Gurmel Singh, Parmjit Singh, and Sukhwinder Singh; all from his village. Joginder Singh still has not been to the Harminder Sahib located in the Golden Temple to date. Harjinder became ill just as he reached Pakistan and he was kept in a hospital. Harjinder summed up his visit to Pakistan as, "This is what happens when your thinking gets clouded."

Tejinder Singh has a flowing beard. His family owns 110 bighas of land. His one brother, Amrik Singh, is still serving a prison term in the Raipur jail for his extremist activities. He reached Pakistan at midnight. He was taken by the Pakistani Rangers from Dera Afghana Village to the Narova police station. Later he remained

in a Sialkot guest house. He also described military harassment as his reason for going to Pakistan. Tejinder said, "It is out of fear of the police that we say that there was training. Whereas in reality it was not so." In the course of the conversation, Tejinder criticized the Panthic Samiti. Hae said that while they remain in Amritsar, they collect funds. Tejinder is convinced that if the objectives of the Sikh Panth are correct, the nation can be reunited.

Raghubir Singh is an educated man. He went to Pakistan with 20 young men by crossing the Indian border at Dera Baba Nanak. He left India completely drunk. Raghubir Singh says that before leaving India he had no interest in Sikh politics and he does not have any interest now. He says, "I do not even read a newspaper." His opinion is that the Punjab problem must be solved.

Suba Singh went to Pakistan with great enthusiasm; now he says that had he thought about it before leaving, he would not have incurred this infamy. Suba Singh still has not been to Amritsar. He has no sympathy for the extremists and he has nothing to do with the five member Panthic Samiti that leads the extremists.

Among those going to Pakistan from Shahpur Goraya, Gurbakhsh Singh was the cleverest. He led 23 youth to Pakistan. He is a prominent worker of the A.B. Sikh Students Federation. Now he lives in the village and works as an electrician. Gurbakhsh Singh was happy that in the Pakistani jail there were carrom board, luddo, and television for amusement. Because of his association with an extremist group, the Pakistanis kept him in Daska house. He admitted that Colonel Malik of the Pakistani army periodically used to come to see him. Asked if the Pakistanis gave them guns, he said it would have been great if they had. Gurbakhsh Singh did not intend to return to India. He wanted to go to Afghanistan from Pakistan.

Gurbakhsh Singh believes that it was his misfortune that he could not meet Bhinderanwale in Pakistan. He said his reason for going to Pakistan was that bullets were flying here as well as there. Gurbakhsh Singh says that if our prime minister wishes so, the problem can be resolved.

Jagtar Singh is a high school graduate. These days he is a farmer. He said that he knows how to work but that he does not know politics. He regrets "Operation Blue Star."

Close to Shahpur Goraya is Haruval village. Dalbir Singh of this village crossed the border while drinking with Parmjit Singh, Bir Singh, and Nath Singh. His only motive was to see how things were abroad. Bir Singh also lives in the Haruval village; both he and his parents are Christians. He says that he wears a turban only because he likes it. Since "Operation Blue Star," he has not been to Harminder Sahib. Bir Singh works as a laborer in the village.

The Pakistanis had made complete arrangements to look after those going to Pakistan from Gurdaspur, Amritsar, and Hoshiarpur Districts. Special attention was paid to the Dera Baba Nanak, Mardana, and Sandhu posts. From these posts the unemployed, vagabond boys who fled from India were taken in closed vans to the Faisalabad jail; nearly 400 young men remained imprisoned there for almost two years. These youth who had fled India and were kept in Faisalabad Jail became a headache for the Pakistani government. These young men had hoped that as soon as they arrived in Pakistan, the Pakistani government would start training them, but their hopes did not materialize. Instead they were locked up in jail. Dalbir Singh of Haruval village says that there were daily fights in the jail. There were beatings every third or fourth day. On one occasion, the jail officials continued the beatings for six to seven days. Dalbir Singh says that those who shouted the most were stripped and whipped with leather belts till their buttocks turned black and blue. He says that he was also beaten severely.

Raghubir Singh said that they got simple clothes to wear in jail, every 15 days they received a cake of soap for washing, and their heads were infested with lice. Bir Singh, also of Haruval village, disclosed that the jail was built over nearly 30 bighas [15 acres] of land. He said they would tell the Pakistan authorities that if they did not want to release us, why not hand us over to the Indian Government? Bir Singh said that jail life was very tough. The religiously devout Sikhs built a brick gurdwara in the jail. The Sikh standards were also established in the jail. He said that the Pakistanis were not interested in teaching us anything.

Major Singh of Buttar Kalan said that they had gone to Pakistan to learn how to operate rifles but they returned by knowing how to cook. Only home made bread was provided in the jail; each prisoner had to cook his own food. Satnam Singh, also of Buttar Kalan, said that the longer they stayed in jail, the fights among the prisoners became more serious. On 22 November 1985 nearly 20 youths tried to break out of jail at which point the Pakistani prison guards fired and Joginder Singh Sohl was killed. Following this incident, Pakistani prison guards severely beat nearly 150 youth. It was after this that the Pakistani government began to realize that the Indian vagabonds could not be kept in the jail much longer.

In January 1986, the Pakistanis began releasing these youth gradually in groups of five and six. Government sources say that most of the youth have returned from Pakistan. These sources have expressed the possibility that 50 youth still remain in Pakistan. When these young men started to return to India, some of them were captured by the B.S.F. people. Only then did it become known that large numbers of young men were returning after spending two years in Pakistan. Another problem

facing the government was how could these young men be completed trusted? Some of them went to the police station and gave themselves up.

C.I.D., RAW, C.B.I. and other espionage officials of the Indian Government interrogated these youth for months, but the espionage officials could not discover anything. Mr Viridi, the senior superintendent of police of Gurdaspur District, says that undoubtedly no worthwhile information could be obtained from the vagabond boys who had returned from Pakistan. The police kept these boys locked up for a few days. Action was initiated against those who previously had other charges against them. Those whose only fault had been that they went to Pakistan and had no other charge pending against them, presented a rehabilitation problem. Sohan Singh, the chief of Shahpur Goraya, disclosed that all the village chiefs jointly petitioned the government to resettle these boys in their villages. For this purpose, they also met the former chief minister, Surjit Singh Barnala. Viridi helped a lot. It is only because of these efforts that nearly 150 boys are now working in the various departments of the Punjab government and in the state's famous mill at Dhariwal. Nearly 20 of them are now married.

Following their return from Pakistan, the files of these young men remain open in the police stations. Periodically, they have to report to the police stations. These youths are still in good spirits. According to the police, Sikh youth fleeing from India to Pakistan did not come to a halt with the return of these youth but the number has decreased. Balbir Singh of Haruval village says, whatever may be the treatment from my country's police, I will never return to Pakistan.

Interview With Jagir Singh

46240007 Calcutta RAVIVAR in Hindi 28 Nov 87 p 24

[Interview with Jagir Singh]

[Text] After Diwali there has been an increase in the number of people visiting the Golden Temple to pay homage. Workers of Panthic Samiti, the prime mover of extremist activities, are still active in the Golden Temple. On 6 November 1987 when the author arrived before the Akal Takht at 10 in the morning, it was learned that the Panthic Samiti spokesman had called a press conference. On the second floor of the Akal Takht, the press conference was addressed by Lieutenant General Jagir Singh of the Khalistan Security Force. Nearly 50 years old, Jagir Singh was not prepared to be photographed under any circumstances. The following are excerpts of Jagir Singh's conversation with Anil Tyagi at the conclusion of the press conference.

Question: Let us start this conversation from the beginning. Will you tell us how your fight with the government began?

Answer: In fact, our fight began over the installation of a transmitter to broadcast gurus' works from the Harmandir Sahib to the Punjab. The government said that this was not possible. Look here, when a family member demands his rights, he must be given a hearing. When he who has to give won't give, and he who demands won't desist, then what will be the result? The giver oppresses, and the petitioner resists. When this condition prevails in the family, the child then says, give unto me what belongs to me.

Question: Can there be no talks now?

Answer: Talks can take place only so long as there is no oppression. Before 4 June 1984 anything was possible. Now nothing can happen. Why was this demand not accepted when we made it? If the government accepts it now, even then no! Now we do not even recognize the Anandpur Sahib resolution.

Question: If the name of the Punjab is changed to Khalistan, will you be pacified?

Answer: We will not be pacified by changing the name of the Punjab to Khalistan. We want a separate country—just like Pakistan, a completely separate country.

Question: How do you propose to obtain Khalistan?

Answer: By fighting, by sacrificing.

Question: But for how long?

Answer: We will continue to fight as long as even one Sikh is left. It is now a face to face fight.

Question: What is the reason for your differences with Jathedar Darshan Singh Ragi of the Akali Takht?

Answer: When a person who is not basically competent is made a leader, he cannot deliver the goods. He is fit only to sing hymns. He is not fit to lead the Sikh Panth.

Question: In that case, why did your people elect Darshan Singh Ragi, a Hathedar of the Akali Takht?

Answer: That was our mistake. We admit our mistake.

Question: The government has extended the president's rule in the Punjab by six months. Do you support it?

Answer: We cannot be silenced by a policy of oppression. The president's rule is no solution for the Punjab problem. Our demand is that the government should have talks with us over an agenda. This matter cannot be resolved by an elected government or by the military. By getting the military to attack us with cannons, they cannot make us agree to talks. In June 1984, the government already tried sending the military to Harmandir Sahib.

Question: With whom should the government talk?

Answer: The government should talk to the chairman of the Khalistan Council, Gurmit Singh Aulakh.

Question: But he lives outside Punjab.

Answer: When the time comes, he can be called to the Punjab. It is for the government to invite him and provide him with the necessary facilities. Talks should be held in Punjab only.

12286/08309

IRAN

Ayatollah Jannati Back Home from African Mission

46000066 *Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 17 Dec 87 p 6*

[Text] Tehran, 16 December (IRNA)—The head of the Islamic Propaganda Organization (IPO) Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati concluded his 14-day visit to two African countries and returned here Wednesday.

Upon his arrival Ayatollah Jannati told reporters at Tehran's International Mehrabad Airport that his visit to Ethiopia and Ghana was aimed at conveying message of the Islamic Revolution to the people there.

Ayatollah Jannati, who also had stop-overs in Geneva and Dubai on his way to Africa, said the other objective of the visit was disclosure of the 31 July Mecca massacre as well as bringing to light propaganda of the Saudi rulers to whitewash their crime of martyring hajj pilgrims and desecrating the holy Ka'aba.

Major activities during the visit were centered on Ghana where people are eagerly interested in the cause of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the IPO head said.

The IPO deputy for international affairs, Hojjatoleslam Muhammad-Ali Taskhiri, and member of Majlis Board of Chairmen Hojjatoleslam Shoushtari accompanied Ayatollah Jannati in the visit.

/12232

NEPAL

France To Provide Assistance

46000062b *Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 18 Dec 87 p 2*

[Text] The fourth protocol on financial assistance was signed between His Majesty's Government and the Government of French Republic the other day in Paris.

The financial assistance amounting to 200 million French francs consists of 30 percent grant and 70 percent treasury loan carrying an interest rate of 3 percent and repayable in 25 years period including 10 years grace period, according to the Finance Ministry.

The fund provided under the financial assistance shall be utilized for the implementation of Nepalgunj-Mahendranagar transmission line project, procurement of airport equipment and teleprinter, development of water resources (irrigation) and feasibility study of Seti hydro-electric project.

It may be recalled that the French government has provided a total of 230 million francs to Nepal under the three previous protocols since 1981.

The composition of assistance under the first protocol was 20 percent grant and the treasury loan and bankers credit of 40 percent each. However in the second and third protocols were included 50 percent grant and treasury loan and bankers credit of 42.5 percent each.

The bankers credit is repayable in 20 years including 6 months grace period and carries the interest rate of 10 to 11 percent.

The protocol was signed by Royal Nepali Ambassador Dilli Raj Upreti on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by the head of the treasury loan department Claire Dreyfus Cloarec on behalf of French government in the presence of Minister of State for Finance and Industry Bharat Bahadur Pradhan in Paris.

Speaking on the occasion Minister of State Pradhan expressed sincere gratitude to the government and people of France for the continued interest in economic development of Nepal and particularly for the liberal assistance provided under the protocol.

He also noted with appreciation the atmosphere in cordiality in which the negotiation was held.

/9274

Finland To Provide Aid

46000062d *Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 16 Dec 87 p 9*

[Text] Kathmandu, 15 Dec—Finland will assist Nepal in management of watershed areas of Kulekhani and Phewa Lake besides extending further aid for the second phase of the Hill Forest Development Project (HFDP).

Disclosing this in a chat with this reporter, Raimo Anttola, Development Cooperation Counsellor at the Finnish embassy in Thailand who looks after Finnish development cooperation in Nepal, Burma and Bangladesh, said an agreement on watershed management and an 'interim' agreement on the second phase of the HFDP are being finalized at present.

Finland had provided Nepal a grant assistance of about 19,130,000 (nineteen million one hundred thirty thousand) rupees for the implementation of the first phase of HFDP and watershed management projects in 1985.

The first phase of the HFDP ends this year. Thus, Finland is entering into an 'interim' agreement with His Majesty's Government for the continuation of the project, co-financed by Asian Development Bank, until agreement is reached later.

Talking further about the purpose of his visit, Mr Anttola, 43 (forty-three) said he held discussions about Finnish cooperation and reviewed the progress of the Finnish-aided projects here with HMG officials.

One of the topics of discussion was the possible Finnish assistance in Forest Development Master Plan Project.

Rural electrification and rural telecommunications are the other two domains apart from forestry that have received focus from the Finnish assistance to Nepal.

In this connection, he revealed that the first phase of the Finnish-aided Pokhara rural electrification project is expected to be completed by coming March. "And we have started to plan the second phase," he said.

On the reasons for priority of Finnish assistance on forestry in the Nepalese context, Mr Anttola, who joined diplomatic service in 1972, said we feel we have "the know how and expertise" to assist Nepal in this sector. Moreover, "from the environmental point of view this sector is a very important one" for this country.

In this context, Mr Anttola said Finland hoped the Forest Development Master Plan when completed would give useful guidelines for strategies to be adopted for tackling the problem of deforestation in Nepal.

The development cooperation between Finland and Nepal started in 1980 though the two countries entered into diplomatic ties in 1974.

Asked about the prospects for increased trade ties between the two countries Mr Anttola indicated that as development cooperation between the two countries grows further commercial relations would also rise.

"I'm sure there are many sectors where normal commercial relations could be established between Finnish and Nepalese companies," he said.

In this regard the counsellor mentioned the existence of the Finnish Fund for Industrial Development Cooperation (FINNFUND) which plays a significant role in the appraisal and implementation of joint ventures in cooperation with Finnish cooperations.

"There have been some contacts" between Finnish and Nepalese companies for joint cooperation but as for now more discussions are needed in this respect, he said.

On the Finnish Official Development Assistance (ODA) policy Mr Anttola said at present the Finnish bilateral assistance to the least developed countries (LDCs) has risen to 35 percent in 1987 from 30 percent of its total aid.

Further, he said his country aims to push the level of its assistance to LDCs to a level of 0.15 percent of its GNP.

The country's total aid represents 0.63 percent of the GNP. It aims at realizing by the end of 1980's, the UN recommendations that industrialized countries should raise their ODA to at least 0.7 percent of their GNP.

/9274

Minister Terms Indian Leader's Statement 'Irresponsible'

46000062a Kathmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 18 Dec 87 pp 1, 4

[Text] Minister for Foreign Affairs Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya has said that as a country which wishes to be declared a zone of peace, Nepal does not allow its soil to be used against another country.

Upadhyaya made this remark when Rastriya Samachar Samiti drew his attention to the statement made by the Chief Minister of the Indian State of West Bengal Jyoti Basu alleging interference by Nepal in the ongoing Gorkha National Liberation Front agitation and accusing Nepal of providing shelter and training facilities to the GNLF activists.

Upadhyaya said that he heard reports of the statement from media sources and that if such statement had been made by a responsible dignitary such as the Chief Minister of West Bengal, it was most regrettable and irresponsible.

As has been already made clear at the last session of the Rastriya Panchayat and in talks with Indian officials at various levels, the affair of the Gorkhaland is an internal matter of India he said.

Foreign Minister Upadhyaya further said that as a country which subscribes to the principles of the United Nations Charter, the five principles of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment, is a matter of faith for Nepal not only to preach but also to practice the fundamental of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states.

/9274

PAKISTAN

Trade Accord With Moscow Signed

46000072a Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
30 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 29: Pakistan and USSR will exchange goods worth \$34 million each way during 1988.

An agreement to this effect was signed here today between the two countries. The visiting Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, E.P. Bavrin signed it on behalf of his Government while Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, R.A. Akhund signed it on behalf of Government of Pakistan.

Under this agreement many new items have been included in the list of barter trade between the two countries. The new items include urea, cotton and variety of machinery.

The target of \$34 million each way is the minimum volume of trade for the year 1988 and efforts will be made to trade more goods than the target. This shows a significant expansion in trade between Pakistan and USSR as during the year 1987 goods worth only \$5 million each way were traded.

Earlier, Soviet trade delegation led by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, E.P. Bavrin held a meeting with the Federal Minister for Commerce, Planning and Development, Dr Mahbubul Haq and discussed, among other things, the possibilities of provision of Soviet textile machinery to the private sector in Pakistan under credit.

A number of development projects in the 7th Five Year Plan, in which USSR can provide assistance to Pakistan also came under discussion during the meeting.

The Soviet Deputy minister expressed his keen interest in expansion of economic and trade relations between Pakistan and USSR. He also invited the private sector of Pakistan to start joint venture in USSR.

During the meeting it was agreed that a high level Pakistani delegation will visit USSR in the first quarter of 1988 to explore the possibilities of increasing the collaboration.

The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan, V.R. Vazirov was also present during the meeting.

/09599

Wali Claims Civilian Government Powerless

46000072c Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
29 Dec 87 p 14

[Text] Peshawar, Dec 28: The ANP President Khan Abdul Wali Khan has strongly criticised President Ziaul Haq for raising controversial issues like Kalabagh Dam which threatened the three smaller provinces of Pakhtoonkhwa, Sind and Baluchistan.

In a statement issued in response to President Ziaul Haq's announcement in Charsadda about the need to build Kalabagh Dam, the ANP Chief stressed that Pakhtoons, Sindhis and Baluch opposed the construction of Kalabagh Dam and would resist efforts to build it.

He maintained that parts of Pakhtoonkhwa would be submerged, Sind would be turned into a desert and Baluchistan would also suffer if the Dam was built. He lamented that none amongst his audience at Charsadda objected when the General expressed his intention to go ahead with the Kalabagh Dam project. He remarked that Gen Zia perhaps raised the issue a new because he knew that its biggest opponent Bacha Khan was bed-ridden.

Wali Khan argued that Gen Ziaul Haq's insistence to give statements on sensitive political issue showed that the so-called Prime Minister and his civilian Government were powerless. He pointed out that Gen Zia's pro-America foreign policy had already posed risks to Pakistan's integrity and resulted in devastating bomb explosions and deteriorating law and order situation. He said instead of tackling such vital issues Gen Zia was opening pandora's box by speaking on controversial subjects. He also refuted Gen Zia's contention that 99 per cent votes were cast in favour of Pakistan in the 1947 referendum.

/09599

Minister for Beneficial Relations With USSR

46000072d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
29 Dec 87 pp 1, 14

[Article by Zain Noorani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs: "Afghanistan—Realities and Prospects"]

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 28: It is our ardent desire to seek friendly, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations with the Soviet Union. We recognise the great influence which the Soviet Union can exercise for the promotion of peace and harmony in our region. With a just solution of the Afghanistan problem, 1988 can truly become the year of promise and the beginning of a new era of peace and reconciliation, said Mr. Zain Noorani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the following article:

"The expression of hope by the Prime Minister that 1988 would be the year of decision for Afghanistan, has been prompted by encouraging signals from Moscow and the improved international political climate following the

Reagan-Gorbachev Summit. This augurs well for the pursuit of an equitable and principled settlement of the Afghanistan issue—a settlement which could rehabilitate an independent and non-aligned status for Afghanistan, thus enabling the Afghan people to choose a political system of their own free choice. Such a settlement would also enable the millions of Afghan refugees to return to their hearths and homes voluntarily in peace and with honour and dignity.

A free and non-aligned Afghanistan is vital for the security of Pakistan, and essential for the stability of South-West Asia. On a global scale, a just and honourable settlement of the Afghanistan problem will serve to restore respect for an important international principle which continues to be violated by the presence of foreign troops. Such a development will improve East-West relations, have a salutary impact on international efforts to resolve regional conflicts and contribute towards the strengthening of a climate of confidence, essential for a more peaceful and secure world.

The unprecedented vote in the General Assembly has once again forcefully emphasised the international demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops which is a *sine qua non* for the return of peace and normalcy to Afghanistan. This has been the focal point of the protracted negotiations at Geneva, where an elaborate frame-work has already been evolved in the shape of the four instruments which fully address Soviet concerns relative to the observance of principles of non-interference and international guarantees. Simultaneous implementation of all elements of the settlement has also been agreed. The issue of the time frame for withdrawals, however, continues to remain unresolved.

The basic premise of the time-frame-oriented approach adopted at Geneva is the unexceptionable principle that the Afghan people should be allowed to determine their destiny in complete freedom from the presence of outside forces or pressures. A political settlement must also deny the foreign forces the possibility of exercising a military option. In order to be credible, internationally and in the eyes of the Afghan Resistance, the settlement must be based on a short time frame. The absence of an offer of a reasonable time frame and attempts to deflect attention from this central issue have been responsible for the prolongation of the Geneva process and delay in the finalization of the settlement.

Early this year, Moscow and Kabul raised the issue of national reconciliation linking it with withdrawals. Pakistan was willing to help in the promotion of genuine reconciliation, making it clear that it was a matter primarily to be decided by the Afghans themselves, and that the views of the Afghan parties including the Mujahideen, the Afghan refugees and prominent Afghan intellectuals, scholars and political personalities had to be taken into account. All of them without exception had dismissed Najib's programme as a political ploy transparently designed to consolidate the PDPA hold on

Afghanistan. Clearly they could not rally under his umbrella. Genuine reconciliation and compromise among the Afghans on that basis was impossible.

Pakistan favoured consensus among the Afghans and even suggested the idea of an interim arrangement, acceptable to the Afghan parties, as a practical option for the duration of withdrawals. The idea was consistent with the position that outsiders had no *locus standi* to impose a political dispensation in Kabul. Side by side, we insisted on the need for movement on the time frame issue. We were convinced that the finalization of the Geneva settlement would strengthen confidence in Soviet declarations to withdraw and induce the Afghans to seriously focus on the future shape of affairs in their country. A short time frame for the withdrawal of foreign troops would have generated pressures on all Afghan parties to move in that direction.

The impasse in the Geneva process last March and the hiatus in the dialogue between Islamabad and Moscow on the Afghanistan issue came as a disappointment to us. Nevertheless, the realities of the situation eventually asserted themselves. The massive military operations inside Afghanistan and tactics to pressurize Pakistan, combined with a world-wide diplomatic offensive to gain support for the bankrupt national reconciliation programme, met with total failure. Attempts by the Kabul regime to gain political legitimacy through contrived *Loi Jirgas* as well as military operations aimed at weakening the Resistance still continue. But eight years of the heroic Afghan struggle and their great sacrifices has demonstrated beyond doubt the determination of the Afghan people not to tolerate foreign subjugation nor to accept the resulting illegality imposed upon them.

A silver lining is visible in the recent pronouncements of the Soviet leadership which show sensitivity to the glaring realities of the situation in Afghanistan and reflect Soviet desire for a political settlement. There is movement on the time frame issue. The Soviet willingness to provide a "12-months or less" time frame stated by General Secretary Gorbachev opens up the possibility of finalizing this issue at Geneva. We hope that Kabul will not be allowed to prevaricate on the already settled issues or raise fresh demands. At the next Geneva Round efforts must concentrate on negotiating and settling the outstanding issue of the time frame. The Soviet willingness to disengage from military operations in preparation for withdrawals, even though qualified, will also serve to facilitate an agreement on time frame and to convince the Afghan Resistance of Soviet commitment to withdrawals.

Following the Summit, General Secretary Gorbachev has stated that the Soviet Union is not interested in a pro-Moscow regime in Kabul nor should any other outside power strive for a regime of its own choice. This important principle has been emphasised by the international community in its demand for a non-aligned and independent Afghanistan, and is implicit in the Geneva

Instrument on International Guarantees; its recognition by the Soviet leadership is a matter of great import. This strengthens the belief that Moscow will no longer pursue the objective of creating realities of its own choice in Afghanistan and is, instead, ready to accept changes warranted by the facts of the situation.

The recognition of the principle needs to be followed by concrete steps. First and foremost, a realistic basis for genuine reconciliation must be clearly defined and accepted. At the same time, the heightened military activity by the Soviet forces must come to a halt. These steps would provide the necessary impetus for the emergence of practical arrangements which attract the support and confidence of the Afghan political forces. A credible political dispensation must reflect the wishes of the Afghan people including the Afghan Mujahideen and the refugees—it cannot be predicated on plans designed to secure unfair advantage for any one Afghan party.

Pakistan's keen interest in an early settlement is dictated by weighty considerations of geopolitics. The continuing instability has grave implications for our security and the presence of refugees has imposed colossal socio-economic burdens upon it. Accordingly, at Geneva, we demonstrated flexibility and accommodation in negotiating the Instruments and to clear the decks for consideration of the time frame. We responded to every legitimate concern with constructive proposals. The Prime Minister's suggestion for the stationing of a UN Peace Keeping Force is a case in point.

It is thus in a positive spirit that we look forward to the visit of Mr. Cordovez, whose efforts within and outside the Geneva frame work enjoy our support. We will also welcome the early resumption of a dialogue with the Soviet Union which has been invaluable in clarifying positions necessary for progress towards a negotiated settlement. There must be no doubt that Pakistan will seize the opportunity as soon as there is a reasonable basis for a settlement. But Pakistan will not compromise on principles, nor can it be coerced to acquiesce in an unjust proposition that seeks to justify and endorse the wrong committed in Afghanistan.

It is our ardent desire to seek friendly, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations with the Soviet Union. We recognise the great influence which the Soviet Union can exercise for the promotion of peace and harmony in our region. With a just solution of the Afghanistan problem, 1988 can truly become the year of promise and the beginning of a new era of peace and conciliation."

/09599

Prominent Intellectuals Protest Terrorist Acts to Soviets

46000073 Islamabad *THE MUSLIN* in English
31 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, 30 December—About 2000 prominent intellectuals and trade union leaders from all over Pakistan registered a vehement protest with the Soviet

Embassy here today at the continuing bomb-blasts in highly sensitive areas of the country including the Federal Capital and causing untold suffering to innocent citizens through death and mutilation of breadwinners.

A memorandum was delivered at the Chancery by representatives of the signatories who include house-hold names of penmen and poets like Nasim Hijazi, Zamir Jafery, Samandar Khan, Oalandar Momand, Ajmal Niazi, Sultan Sabir Malik Mohammad Ramzan, poetesses Bismil Sabiri, Shama Khalid and Syeda Hina and Surayya Soz eminent educationalists like Karachi University's former Vice-chancellor Dr Jamil Jalibi and Dr M. Said of Peshawar University, veteran journalists like Editor K.M. Khokhar of IBRAT, M. Saleen of NAWA-I-WAQT, Abdul Karim Abid of JASARAT and Bashir Qureshi of ENCOUNTER INTERNATIONAL.

The memorandum was delivered among others by Nasim Hijazi and the Media Forum Chief Rauf Tahir.

The unethical involvement of a superpower in these incidents of blatant terrorism as evidenced by the discovery of destructive material of Russian manufacture has been described in this jointly signed document as "the tragedy of the highest magnitude for civilisation."

The signatories of the memorandum pointed out that the Soviet ambassador, obviously enough could not be unaware of the ceaseless chain of ruinous blasts in important centres of civilian population in Pakistan which were resulting in immense loss of human life and bringing untold sufferings to countless homes.

We cannot help feeling that the grisly image of the mutilated bodies of peaceful men helpless women and innocent children which brings tears rolling down our eyes might be moving even the Soviet envoy's heart," they added what caused them concern was the deplorable fact that the lethal material for these explosions was smuggled into Pakistan from areas under Soviet control lying right across our borders.

Through this memorandum they earnestly wished to convey the message of the masses of Pakistan to the government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics to honour international conventions and exercise restraint in letting its differences with the government of Pakistan overstep the recognised limits of these conventions. "Who could ever envisage a superpower adopting terrorist tactics."

The signatories to the memorandum stressed that the people of Pakistan did not brook the idea of the supremacy of Russia, America or any other state over their territory and that blasts, however powerful could not shake the nation's indomitable will to safeguard its sovereignty "History now has no room for the ambitions of a superpower to make another people's will subservient to the former's interests," they pointed out.

"Since we honestly feel that terrorist activity does not go well with a superpower we call upon Soviet Government to bring to an immediate halt its terrorist activities in Pakistan. We should simultaneously like to bring it home to it that come what may the people of Pakistan will neither give up the pursuit of their national objectives nor surrender their sovereignty.

Initially refused, the memorandum was ultimately received though reluctantly by a person who identified himself as Mr Vladimer of the Embassy Staff. Maintaining the Soviet stand that Russia had entered Afghanistan after "foreign intervention" he said his country would love to promote good relations with Pakistan.

/12232

JI Chief Ahmad Claims US Wants Un-Islamic Govt in Kabul

46000049b Karachi DAWN in English 23 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 22: The US favoured the establishment of an un-Islamic Government in Afghanistan against the cherished wishes of the Afghan people and was, therefore, endeavouring to prolong Soviet stay in Afghanistan till her objectives are realised observed Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan.

He was talking to PPI at the Jamaat, Mansoor, Lahore.

He opined that only Mujahideen and the Afghan people were in a position to give Soviet Union the guarantee that future Afghanistan will be free from foreign intervention and act as a peaceful neighbour of the USSR.

To a question, he pointed out that he held two meetings with Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan during past few months to discuss the Afghan issue.

He said that the Soviet Ambassador had asked him whether he would accept the invitation of holding another round of talks with him at his invitation, "I okeyed his proposal for which he is seeking clearance from his Government" pointed out Qazi Hussain Ahmad.—PPI

/12223

Junejo Calls for Economic Self-Sufficiency

46000054b Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Dec 87 pp 1, 6

[Text] Karachi, Dec. 17 (APP)—Prime Minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo today said the attainment of self-sufficiency was the first necessity of national policy and this entailed, among other things, correcting the adverse trade imbalance on a priority basis.

In this connection he emphasised the need to take steps against "one sided trade". Countries which sold goods to Pakistan should also permit Pakistani products into their own markets.

The Prime Minister was speaking at the Karachi Stock Exchange award distribution ceremony for 25 companies listed on the KSE which have been adjudged the best performers for the 1986 calendar year. Present on the occasion were Sind Governor Ashraf W. Tabani, Chief Minister, Syed Ghous Ali Shah, Federal and Provincial Ministers, Members of the Parliament and Sind Assembly, diplomats and businessmen.

Referring to a point made by K.S.E. President, Mr. Firozuddin in his welcome address, Mr. Junejo agreed that goods produced within the country should on principle not face competition from similar products imported from abroad.

The entry of such foreign products should be discouraged through duties and taxes, but simultaneously, the quality of Pakistani manufactures must be improved where necessary, he added.

The Prime Minister stated that during his recent visit to Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Kuwait, he had been informed that Pakistani products had failed to make "a significant breakthrough" in these markets, especially Kuwait.

He suggested the opening of display centres for Pakistani goods and frequent visits by Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry delegations to rectify this situation, adding, he would like to see how this idea bore fruit in a year's time.

He also said he had instructed Pakistan Embassy personnel in these three countries to exert all possible efforts in a drive to boost the sale of Pakistani goods.

In general, he remarked, Pakistani diplomats had been told that effectiveness would be judged on the steps taken by them to help in the export drive and thus reduce the adverse trade imbalance.

Mr. Junejo said the attainment of self-sufficiency required the best possible development of national resources and both the public and private sectors had their roles to play in the achievement of this goal.

Listing the measures taken by his government to encourage the private sector, he said in the past too many regulations had hampered the growth and mobilisation of private resources.

His government had rectified this situation and now aside from 12 specific areas, the rest of the industrial sector had been deregulated and there was no need to apply for sanctions to establish a new industrial unit.

So as to spur the mobilisation of monetary resources, investment companies had been permitted to operate in the private sector, and the government was currently processing a number of applications from such agencies.

He advised entrepreneurs to generate their own resources instead of relying on State Bank loans.

Mr. Junejo said more industrial units should be established throughout the country, and in this connection noted that a tax holiday for new units was available in Baluchistan province, most of NWFP and parts of Punjab and Sind.

He said his government was ready to listen to the viewpoint of the private sector, and added he did not want to announce any "piecemeal solution" to problems referred to in the KSE President's welcome address.

Instead the concerned ministries would study the issues involved, and solutions would be incorporated in next year's budget, which was the right place for such matters.

He also said he had asked the Sind Governor and Chief Minister to speed up the Nooriabad Industrial Estate Project and try to ensure it was functioning fully within one year.

Mr. Junejo went on to say some legal difficulties had arisen in connection with disinvestment of government shares in some public corporations, but these were being resolved. He congratulated the KSE on its role in mobilising national resources and playing a significant role in the country's economy.

However, he noted that the KSE had yet to reach the level attained by stock exchange in other countries. He pointed out that of the 18,000 odd private companies functioning in Pakistan only around 370 were listed on the KSE.

Mr. Junejo also announced the institution of an annual Prime Minister's award for the company judged to have racked up the most impressive performance in that particular calendar year.

Among the criteria to be used in choosing the company would be its policy vis-a-vis employees' welfare and management-employee relations, he added.

The Prime Minister later distributed awards to the 25 companies chosen by the KSE for the most impressive performance during the 1986 calendar year.

Half a dozen of these companies were public sector institutions, seven were multi national corporations and the remaining 12 were private sector organisations. KSE President then presented "the universal emblem" of stock exchanges the world over—an entwined bull and

bear figure—to the Prime Minister. Mr. Junejo then formally performed the foundation stone laying ceremony of the KSE building extension project.

Earlier President Karachi Stock Exchange Ferozuddin A. Cassim in his welcome address stressed the need for continuous endeavours to maintain the growth rates and its further acceleration through internal generation of investment resources rather than relying on borrowing and debts for financing development programmes.

Mr. Cassim said that Pakistan's economy has recorded very impressive growth rates in the last few years and today it was self-sufficient in food, clothing and shelter, the three basic needs of life.

He pointed out that recent dramatic crash on major stock exchanges of the world were clear indicators that the developed economies and lending countries will also have to reshape their own budgetary programmes and this may well result in reduced availability of "aid" resources and increase in "tied loans" policies.

He said the delay in the disbursement of US aid to Pakistan should be viewed as an indicator in this direction.

The KSE President observed that political independence can be maintained only through economic self-sufficiency and in view of the present situation, economic independence can be best achieved through policies that encourage savings and investments and curtail unnecessary expenditures through higher duties and taxes and ban on import of luxury goods.

/06091

Soviet Ambassador Urges Cordial Relations *46000049f Karachi DAWN in English 22 Dec 87 p 10*

[Article by Dawn Lahore Bureau: "USSR for Friendly Ties: Vezirov"]

[Text] December 21: The Soviet Ambassador Mr Abdul Rehman Vezirov, has maintained that his country wants unconditional friendly relations with Pakistan, particularly in the field of trade.

Mr Vezirov was talking to the members of the Executive Committee of Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry here on Monday.

Referring to the signing of INF agreement by US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the ambassador observed that the two big Powers had expressed their dislike for confrontation by creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence. In the same context, he added, the USSR wanted to improve its relations with the neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan.

Afghan Issue: Regarding the Afghanistan problems, the biggest impediment is the improvement of good relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan, Mr Vezirov noted that his country wished to see Afghanistan a free and non-aligned country so that Russia's relations with other Third World countries could also improve. In his view, an atmosphere of understanding existed between the USSR and Pakistan which, he said, was very congenial and could promote economic cooperation. According to him, his country was of the view that besides Karachi, upcountry areas should also be considered for economic development. This year the volume of trade between Russia and Pakistan had increased by 30 per cent than in the last year, he added.

The ambassador expressed the opinion that two exhibitions, one each at Karachi and Lahore, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, showed a potential and a thinking of Pakistani business community to enhance trade relations with his country.

He said the installation of three power generating units by the USSR in Multan, with six more in coming days, was the first step towards economic cooperation between the two countries, so far as the upcountry development was concerned. Speaking about supplying to Pakistan nuclear power generations, on a pattern Russia had provided the same to India recently Mr Vezirov commented: "Let the relationship and mutual cooperation be mature enough, then there could be a possibility in this direction."

Trade Office: He categorically maintained that there was no restriction on business visas from his country's side. "If your Government allows, we are ready to establish trade offices in Lahore", he observed, adding that the doors of the office would be kept open for Lahore business community day and night. He emphasised that development of trade relations by Pakistan with Russian should not affect its similar relations with other countries. "We wish that you improve your trade ties with the United States, China, India and even Afghanistan", he said maintaining that all should live together and there should not be any undercutting.

Mr Vezirov agreed with a questioner that tourists' activities between the two countries should be increased for a better understanding. "Why do a large number of Russian tourists go to India every year via European countries but do not come to Pakistan? He asked, suggesting that the Pakistan Government should also ponder on this matter and allow more Pakistanis to undertake recreation trips to the Soviet Union.

However, he disliked any reference to the support of Soviet leaders to India on the Kashmir issue in the past, which had strained relations with Pakistan. He said: "We should avoid the bitterness of the past if we sincerely intend to go for a better future."

He was of the opinion that wars could not settle issues. "In case of another great war, there would be neither a winner nor a loser, everyone would be finished."

Welcoming the Soviet ambassador, the President of LCCI, Mr Mumtaz Hameed, said the business community in Pakistan was eager to develop trade relations with the Soviet Union as well. He said about 150 projects, for which a number of Soviet organisations had made offers of joint ventures to Pakistani entrepreneurs, had already been circulated among the members of various chambers of commerce and industry. He hoped that soon there would be a positive response in this direction.

He also stressed the need for frequent visits of trade delegations between the two countries to promote economic cooperation.

/12223

Soviet Ambassador Expresses Desire for Better Relations

46000055d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
22 Dec 87 p 8

[Text] Lahore, Dec. 21—Soviet Ambassador Vezirov today expressed his country's keen desire to improve and establish friendly relations with Pakistan. He said the Soviet Union was prepared to help Pakistan in all fields, economic matters and trade and technology, to enable it to overcome its problems. He was addressing the members of the Executive Committee of the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Ambassador Vezirov said that the Soviet Union had no reservations about discussing any matter of mutual interest for the benefit of the two countries, as the basis of the principles of policy laid down by the highest authority in the 27th CPSU Congress were to establish good relations with all neighbouring countries.

Referring to the Afghanistan problem the Soviet Ambassador remarked that this issue was a major obstacle to cultivation of cordial relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan. The Soviet Union, he said is keen to get out of the conflict and see Afghanistan a peaceful, neutral and independent country.

Talking about trade relations with Pakistan, Mr. Vezirov said that trade between the two countries had gone up by 30 per cent as compared to last year. He said that a trade delegation from the Soviet Union was currently visiting Pakistan to discuss and fix new trade targets for the year 1988.

The Ambassador showed special interest in establishment of active cooperation with the private sector adding that special efforts were now being made to foster trade with Punjab in general and Lahore in particular. He said we feel we have made a mistake by making Karachi the base of our trade activities. The Soviet

Ambassador said that for this very reason, this year the trade exhibition had also been held in Lahore hoping to develop it as a centre of bilateral trade activities.

As the Soviet Ambassador was delivering his speech light went off in the LCCI Building due to load shedding, at which the Ambassador reminded that the Soviet Union had started construction on nine power-generating units at Multan which would help Pakistan to overcome its energy problem.

He said that the new principles laid down by Secretary-General Gorbachev reflected a new thinking. "We are living on a small planet, and we should live together," he said.

In order to improve relation between the two countries, tourism should also be encouraged, the Ambassador said. We are prepared to provide all kinds of facilities to tourists visiting Soviet Union, he said and noted that all kinds of obstacles such as visa problems had already been overcome.

Replying to a question regarding the provision of nuclear facilities to Pakistan, the ambassador said that his country would consider the request to this effect in the mutual interest of the two countries.

Earlier, Mumtaz Hamid, President of LCCI, presented the welcome address highlighting various trade problems between Pakistan and the Soviet Union.

APP adds: He said that a Soviet delegation had recently returned home after discussing proposal of the second stage of Pakistan Steel Mills. It had signed a protocol of mutual understanding. The USSR was also ready to negotiate cooperation with Pakistan in the implementation of its next Five-Year Plan as had been proposed by the Federal Minister for Planning, Dr Mahbubul Haq.

/06091

Turkish General Visits Military Factory
46000051d Karachi DAWN in English 18 Dec 87 p 5

[Text] Lahore, Dec 17: The Commander, Turkish Air Force, General Cemil Cuha, visited General Headquarters in Rawalpindi and acquainted himself with Pakistan's capability for overhaul of combat aircraft and production of light aeroplanes, during his subsequent visit to Pakistan Aeronautical Complex at Kamra on Thursday.

On his arrival at GHQ, he was received by the Vice-Chief of the Army Staff, General Aslam Beg. A guard of honour gave him the general salute.

The Turkish Air Chief then met the Vice-Chief of the Army Staff. They discussed matters of common interest. On this occasion General Aslam Beg presented the GHQ crest to his distinguished guest.

General Cuha, accompanied by his wife, then flew to Kamra for a visit to Pakistan Aeronautical Complex.

He was received by the PAC Director General, Air Vice Marshal Farooq Umar.

The visit started with a comprehensive briefing by the Director General on the technical capabilities, production accomplished and future plans of the four component factories of PAC, viz Mirage Rebuild Factory, F-6 Rebuild Factory and its extension project, Aircraft Manufacturing Factory.

General Cuha was told that Mirage and F-6 Rebuild Factories had already overhauled a large number of PAF Aircraft of the two types. In addition, A5 III, FT-6 and FT-5 Aircraft were being rebuilt at the Extension Project of F-6 Factory.

Madam Fevziye Cuha, visited a montessorri school and attended a cultural show organized at the local ladies club.

Later the Director General hosted a lunch in honour of General and Madam Cuha.

The Turkish Air Chief, accompanied by Madam Cuha, then flew to Lahore for an overnight stay.—PPI

/12223

JKLF Chairman Azad Kashmir Violates Ban, Speaks in Public
46000051b Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 19: Chairman Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) Mr Amanullah Khan, violated the ban imposed by the Azad Kashmir Government on his entry in Muzaffarabad district and succeeded in coming back to Karachi, after addressing a public meeting in Muzaffarabad.

It may be mentioned here that district magistrate Muzaffarabad banned the entry of Mr Amanullah Khan in Muzaffarabad district along with other opposition Kashmiri leaders—Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, K. H. Khurshid, Gen (Retd) Mohammad Hayat Khan and Barrister Ch. Sultan Mehmud—for a period of 10 days.

Mr Amanullah Khan, accompanied by other leaders Aslam Mirta, Shaukat Butt, dodged the A. K. Police and run away from the place of public meeting after addressing for about half an hour in disguise.

Besides this dramatic visit, the JKLF chief also attended Central Committee meeting, District Convention of JKLF and addressed public meeting at Pachahur, Khai-galla and Thoraar.—PPI

/12223

Azad Kashmir PPP President Demands Interim Govt

46000051a Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Karachi, Dec 19: Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, President, Pakistan People's Party (Azad Kashmir) has demanded that the Azad Kashmir Government be removed and an interim Government be inducted to hold fair and free general elections as well as the local bodies polls there.

Addressing a Press conference at the Karachi Press Club on Saturday, he listed the irregularities allegedly committed during the local bodies polls and said that the excessive use of force would not deter the people of Azad Kashmir from carrying on their struggle for "democracy and the democratic values."

Sardar Ibrahim said that emergency rules were in vogue in Azad Kashmir and the voice of dissent was being gagged with "full force."

He criticised the Azad Kashmir Government of resorting to firing on its own people and said that instead it should "direct its guns at the Indian forces which were continuing firing in Nakhyal and Samani sectors," of the line of control.

Sardar Ibrahim regretted that Prime Minister Junejo could not prevail on the Azad Kashmir Government to redress the grievances of the people in the local bodies polls.

He said the Azad Kashmir Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam supported the four-party alliance which, besides his own party, comprised the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, Jammu and Kashmir Tehrik-i-Amal Party and Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

He announced that various student bodies of Azad Kashmir would take out protest procession on Dec 28 and a torch light procession on Dec 31.

Death Anniversary: Meanwhile, all Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (Sind) on Saturday observed the death anniversary of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas.

Speaking on the occasion, Sardar Mohammad Abdul Aziz, Sind chief of the Muslim Conference said it was due to Chaudhri Sahib's firm conviction for integrating Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan that he became the target of the then Dogra government.

The meeting in a resolution expressed support to "the constitutionally and democratically elected government," in Azad Kashmir and welcomed the success of the Muslim Conference in the Oct 27 local bodies poll.

/12223

Procession Demands Syed Release

46000049e Karachi DAWN in English 22 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Shikarpur, Dec 21: A procession to protest against the arrest of Mr G.M. Syed, founder of the Jiye Sind Tahrik, was taken out by the leaders and workers of the Tehrik Jiye Sind Mahaz, Jiye Sind Students Federation, Sindhi Shagird Tehreek and Latif Sangat, Shikarpur here on Saturday.

Shops and business establishments remained closed in support of protestors, who have demanded an early release of Mr G. M. Syed and his associates. They also demanded the unconditional release of three workers of the Jiye Sind Mahaz, Shikarpur.

Meanwhile, the district leaders of the Jiye Sind Mahaz, Jiye Sind Students Federation, Sindhi Shagird Tehrik and Latif Sangat Shikarpur, in their joint and separate Press statements have condemned the arrest of Mr G. M. Syed and demanded his unconditional release.

/12223

UK Offers Frigates

46000049a Karachi DAWN in English
19 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Karachi, Dec 18: Lord Glen Arthur, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, has said the question of the sale of three British frigates to Pakistan figured in his talks with Pakistani leaders.

He told a news conference here this evening that Pakistan has to decide whether it wants to purchase these frigates from Britain.

He, however, did not disclose the price Britain is demanding for the three frigates but added "the British offer is the best as compared to other offers."

He said the navies of the two countries have extremely good relations.

He described his talks with President Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo as most cordial and very useful. "Our bilateral relations are excellent," he added.

Afghanistan: The British Minister said that there have been some signs in the recent past which show that the Soviet Union wants to solve the Afghan issue by withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan.

He said Pakistan's exports to the UK have been on the increase since last three years. Likewise British investment in Pakistan, including joint ventures and transfer of technology, was also increasing.

He appreciated the contribution being made by half a million Pakistanis settled in Britain.

He told another questioner that Britain would be happy to see Pakistan back in the Commonwealth.—PPI.

/12223

Rally Calls for Jihad Against Israel

46000061e Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Syed Qamar Abbas]

[Text] Rawalpindi, Dec 26—A protest demonstration staged here on Friday urged united Muslim Jihad against the Zionist Israel. The demonstration was organised by various religious organisations of Islamabad-Rawalpindi following the appeal made by Ayatollah Hussain Ali Montazeri to condemn Israeli atrocities on the Palestinians living in occupied areas and express determination to liberate Palestine.

The demonstration was started from near Maharaja Hotel. The participants were carrying banners bearing slogans: "Na Manzoor, Na Manzoor, Israel Na Manzoor; Down with America, and Islam Ka Doshman America, Eeman Ka Doshman America, etc.

The leaders of the demonstration addressed the participants at Committee Chowk. They said that the problem of Palestine can be solved only by waging Jihad against Israel.

They urged the Muslims to unite in order to extend meaningful help to their Muslim Palestinian brothers. They said that they will not rest until Palestine is liberated.

The speakers condemned the attitude of Arab rulers towards Palestinian problem. The question of Palestine cannot be resolved only through issuing statements to media, they said.

The speakers said that the kings and dictators did not take action against Israel in order to safeguard their rule. They said that talking with Israel in terms of peace amounts to treachery.

The forcefully condemned the US for patronizing the Zionist entity. They said that Israel is the biggest American agent in the Middle East. The US support encourages Israel to suppress Palestinians, they said. They stressed the need to wage struggle against the US and its Western allies with the same strength as against Israel.

They urged the Muslim rulers to rely on their peoples instead of relying on the superpowers which they said are enemies of Muslims. They asked the Muslims to adhere to the call of Imam Khomeini for united Muslim Jihad against Zionist entity.

The speakers also expressed support for Muslim Lebanese revolutionaries and Afghan Mujahideen.

The speakers include Allama Syed Zakir Hussain Shah, Maulana Inayat Ali Shakir, Maulana Sher Aalam Mujadedi, Zakir Hussain Advocate and Maulana Imran Bokhari.

Meanwhile, the Friday prayer leaders in different mosques of the twin cities condemned, in their Friday sermons, the Zionist aggression against Palestinians.

/06662

MQM Claims Majority in Karachi Election

46000061c Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Bureau Report]

[Text] Karachi, Dec 26: The official Muslim League has been virtually wiped out in the elections of 31 reserved seats: 21 for women and 10 for workers in the four Zonal Municipal Committee of Karachi.

The Mohajir Qaumi Movement has emerged as the single largest group with a solid claim on 17 seats followed by nine independents. On the independents both the MQM and OML have partial claim but with no specific identifications. Five candidates with support of the PPP won. The Jamaate Islami just managed to survive the contest with narrow margin on two seats which interestingly is shared by husband and wife from District East. The husband was elected on workers seat and wife on women's seat.

The most startling feature of today's contest was the defeat of a candidate supporter by a former Sind Minister in the Martial Law cabinet and now a prominent local PML leader, Bostan Ali Hoti. Mr Hoti was described by no less person than Pir Pagaro himself as the future Mayor of Karachi. He had managed to win the Nov 30 elections in a controversial contest. The loss of his candidate in today's election has stamped a final seal on his fate as Mayor and has also probably closed doors of the office of even the chairman of ZMC South.

Another striking result of election in same ZMC was the humiliating defeat of Ms Zahida Zaidi who was a councillor for two consecutive terms and a member of the provincial Majlis-e-Shoora (Sind Council) in martial law administration. She could muster only one vote.

Local Muslim League circles however maintained two seats, one of which is in District West and the other in District South. They did not identify the candidates.

The MQM scored convincing victory in two major ZMCs Central and East claiming more than 95 per cent seats. However, in District West and South the independents and PPP managed to give better performance. Some of the seats were shared by the MQM also.

The elections were held through secret ballot and a ballot draw had to be made in case of a tie of two women candidates ZMC Central where MQM Vice President Kishwar Zohra polled equal number of votes as Ms Zaibunnisa. In the ballot draw Miss Kishwar Zohra was declared successful.

Dastgir Bhatti adds from Hyderabad: Candidates back by the Mohajir Qaumi Movement bagged eight seats out of a total of nine seats reserved in the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. The remaining single seat went to the JUI (Noorani Group). The ruling Muslim League and the PPP could not win any of the reserved seats.

Interestingly, a group of nine councillors led by the PPP's Yousuf Kausar Bhatti also cast their votes in favour of the MQM candidates apparently in a bid to bargain with the MQM for the position of the Deputy Mayorship.

The elections to the reserved seats were held this morning in the office of the Divisional Commissioner Hyderabad who was also the Returning Officer. Fifty-eight out of the total sixty elected councillors cast their votes to elect nine more to the reserved seats out of which six were to be filled by women councillors and the remaining three were reserved for the workers. The JUI which had a group of seven councillors won a female seat.

Traditionally, in the past local elections of 1979 and 1983 the city father was elected from among the Urdu-speaking councillors whereas the Deputy Mayorship remained with a Sindhi councillor. Bashir Ahmad Chaudhio an independent councillor has twice been elected Deputy Mayor in the past whereas the contender for the position this time appears to be Yusuf Kausar Bhatti of the PPP. However, it is yet to be seen whether the MQM follows the tradition in the Mayor's elections scheduled to be held on Dec 30 next.

The ruling Muslim League's candidate Qazi Azam, a younger brother of Qazi Abdul Majeed Abid Federal Information Minister was also in the run while enjoying the support of only five other councillors.

The reports from Sukkur, the third biggest city of the Province say that four out of total nine seats of the city's Corporation were bagged by the Ruling Muslim League, the PPP won two seats and the remaining three seats went to the independents.

The PPP has won majority of the reserved seats in Larkana, Thatta, Ratodero, Dadu and Sujawal Municipalities besides some other Town Committees of the smaller cities in Sind.

Meanwhile, the elections to the reserved seats of the Hyderabad District Council are to be held on Sunday. It is becoming abundantly clear that a majority of the seats

would be bagged by the PPP which is led by Makhdoom Rafiquzzaman who command a comfortable majority to win the office of the chairman District Council Hyderabad.

The Ruling Muslim League is fielding Amjad Shah Jamote for the chairmanship, whereas the Taipurs of Tando Mohammad Khan led by Mir Inayat Ali Talpur, advisor to the Prime Minister were also lobbying for the position.

The elections to the District Council Thatta have taken an interesting turn because of two equally strong groups of the ruling party. A group of councillors led by Syed Aijaz Ali Shah enjoys the blessings of the Sind Chief Minister. Whereas the other group led by Senator Hamzo Khan Palejo is being supported by Pir Pagaro and the eleven councillors belonging to the PPP.

In Badin district, Mr Ismail Rahu son of late Fazil Rahu of the Awami National Party had a decisive vote against the two contenders of the Ruling Muslim League.

Shahzada Zulfikar reports from Quetta: In Baluchistan, the election of the chairmen of the local councils Maqbool Lehri, a new entrant in OML has been unofficially declared elected Mayor of Quetta Municipal Corporation. He polled 30 votes out of a total of 54 against his rival Jafar Kasi who got 21 votes. Two votes were rejected while one voter remained absent.

The election of Mayor of QMC were held in a peaceful manner. The heavy guard of armed police surrounded the Baldia House and armed police were also deployed in other parts of city and outskirts to meet any eventuality.

Maqbool Lehri a former strong leader of the opposition in QMC joined OML recently after returning unopposed in recently held L.B. election. While his opponent Jafar Kasi who elected against councillor after defeating his cousin the former QMC Mayor Malik Zakaria Kasi has the full support of a newly formed organisation namely "Pashtoon Ittehad" as well as a few OML MPAs and some Leaguers.

Meanwhile, Mr Abdul Latif Mashwani was elected unopposed as the Chairman of District Council Quetta.

/06662

PML To Undergo Reshuffle

46000061b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
27 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 26—The ruling Pakistan Muslim League would undergo a major reorganisation exercise leading to changes in the Party's Central Committee and

in the top party's positions, this was reliably learnt here today. The sources say this has become inevitable in the light of the results of the recently concluded local bodies polls.

There seems to be a strong demand within the party that all those top party office holders including the members of the central or provincial working committees, who had lost in local bodies elections, or who could not enlist substantial support in favour of the party backed candidates in their areas should immediately be relieved and replaced by more competent figures.

Action is also being demanded against those who disregarded the party's decision and supported their own candidates in complete violation of the party's line. Prime Minister Junejo, who is also the President of the PML, is said to have expressed his displeasure over the infighting among the party leaders during the local bodies elections. The infighting among the PML leaders has again emerged and intensified in the campaign for mayoral elections which are to be completed by the first week of the next month.

The party, despite its claim of big successes in the local bodies election, has seemingly failed to properly manage the mayoral elections as it has not been able to choose unanimous candidates for the offices of the mayors and chairmen of the Municipal Committees, Corporations and District Councils.

The ruling party, which claims to have bagged more than 85 per cent of the seats in the local bodies elections, instead of emerging as an organised and increasingly vulnerable. The party central command was looked completely helpless in bringing truce between the warring factions of its followers. The MNAs and MPAs in most of the cities an district are heading for a show down against each other.

The administrative pressure is being exerted on those opposing the nominees of the provincial boss. This is evident from the large number of show cause notices being issued to the opposition members. Despite repeated assurances by the Federal Government that no punitive action would be taken against the winning candidates on account of political affiliations, a large number of them have now been served notices to clarify their positions.

/06662

TI Leader Calls for Radical Changes
46000061a Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Dec 87 p 8

[Bureau Report]

[Text] Lahore, Dec 23: Air Martial (Rtd) Asghar Khan, President of the Tehrik-e-Istaqlal said his party believes that only radical changes in the country's existing system

could promote the welfare of the common people. He claimed "We are competent to defend the country, control the unchecked bureaucracy and bring a revolution in the life of the common man." Asghar Khan was addressing a largely attended open session of the National Council of the Tehrik-e-Istaqlal here.

The TI chief said that his party was an ideological party while most other parties did not have any ideology and only aimed at seizing power. He said that the long eight years of martial law and two and half years tenure of the present "so called" democratic government had severely damaged the country's politics.

The Tehrik chief giving an account of the major problems facing the nation said that 95 per cent of the country's population was poor. The country is under a heavy debt burden but the rulers, Ministers, Generals, Bureaucrats and their agents are living very luxurious lives.

Asghar Khan said that corruption had become a common phenomenon with the higher officer the greater the level of corruption. He suggested that all the heads of departments including the President, Governors, Ministers and armed forces should declare their personal assets along with those of their relatives and that the public should have the right to take them to a court of law in the event of incorrect declaration of assets.

Referring to the defence of the country Asghar Khan said that 50 per cent of the expenditure earmarked for the Federal Government was being spent on defence. Actually the country's defence system was given by our foreign masters he said and added an independent country where people have their own government does not need such a defence system. Arguing for well-trained but small regular army, equipped with sophisticated weapons, he said it should be supplemented by a large people army which could defend the country in the event of any foreign threat. He remarked that a large army saans [as published] people's support could not defend the country.

The Tehrik chief said the defence of the country could be strengthened by making meaningful changes in the foreign policy which could also bring down defence expenditure.

He demanded a cut in the Federal Government expenditure totalling half of the present budget. He said that by giving provincial autonomy, a true Pakistani nationalism could be developed. He said the rulers had tried to concentrate the powers at the federal level in the name of Islam but this has severely damaged the country's solidarity.

/06662

Wali Khan Alleges Government Perpetuating Rule

46000061d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
27 Dec 87 p 8

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai]

[Text] Peshawar, Dec 26—The ANP President Khan Abdul Wali Khan has alleged that the rulers after having suppressed all problems confronting the people and the country were talking only of the Afghan issue as it helped them in perpetuating their rule.

Addressing a function at Yasinabad near Peshawar today where a PPP activist Salim Khan Afridi announced his decision to join the ANP along with hundreds of his supporters, Wali Khan said the country was in the grip of a severe crisis owing to creeping corruption and mismanagement but all problems had been pushed into the background due to the stress on the Afghan Question.

The ANP leader maintained that the United States was responsible for the chaos and tension in the region and Islamabad's willingness to care more for American interests rather than its own had brought the Afghan war into Pakistan. He pointed out that tribesmen were migrating to Peshawar as their lives were insecure in tribal areas. He alleged that Americans by supplying weapons to combatants in the name of Islam aimed at accelerating the genocide of the Pakhtoons because it had no sympathy with Muslims.

He recalled that the same Jamaat-i-Islami leaders like Qazi Hussain Ahmad who earlier described the ANP leadership as Soviet agents were now themselves saying that the US did not want a solution of the Afghan dispute.

Wali Khan expressed concern over the raising of the issue of Kalabagh Dam a new and chided the so called MNAs and Senators from NWFP who kept mum in this respect and ignored the interests of their province after having been politically bribed. [As published]

He stressed that those who sold their souls and conscience at the hands of British colonialists now claimed to be the protectors of people's rights. He also lamented that Pakhtoons had been deprived of their rights and their natural resources were being controlled and exploited by others. He said load-shedding had again been imposed on NWFP which produced 2,200 megawatts of electricity but consumed only 160 watts.

Azad Kashmir Situation Termed 'Crisis'

46000069a Karachi DAWN in English
27 Dec 87 pp 1, 3

[Text] December 26: The Deputy leader of the Azad Kashmir Legislative Assembly, Barrister Sultan Mahmood, has on behalf of the four-party opposition alliance, offered negotiations with the Government of Pakistan to save a sensitive part of the region from a serious crisis.

Addressing a news conference here on Saturday, Mr. Sultan Mahmood, who is also heading a party, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, in the alliance—the Awami Ittehad—said, however, that the offer was made only to the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, to intervene.

He said the Ittehad had thrice rejected offers of talks by the Federal Minister, Syed Qasim Ali Shah, and was not prepared to sit with him on the table, "because of his partisan attitude."

According to the Opposition leaders, the situation in Azad Kashmir was deteriorating fast, particularly after the Punjab Constabulary and the Pakistan Army arrived there to suppress the agitation against "massive rigging" in the local elections by the ruling Muslim Conference. He claimed that 16 persons had been killed, over 350 injured and about 300 put behind bars during the movement which was now more than a month old. He said that educational institutions had been closed since then.

Mr. Sultan Mahmood ruled out any negotiations with present Azad Kashmir Government because they would not be fruitful. According to him, the declaration by Syed Qasim Ali Shah about the fairness of local elections and sending the Punjab Constabulary and the army to help the Qayyum government to crush the movement were ample evidence that the Government of Pakistan had interfered in Azad Kashmir affairs.

He gave a detailed account of the electoral irregularities which, he said, had surpassed all records of rigging. He reiterated the Awami Ittehad's demand for setting up an interim government and holding of elections at all levels in Azad Kashmir. He said that the Opposition movement was not going to end until this demand was conceded. A fresh call for a torchlit procession on December 31 had been issued by the Awami Ittehad, he added.

Barrister Sultan Mahmood feared that a further deterioration in the situation would create East Pakistan like conditions. He criticized Sardar Abdul Qayyum for the derogatory remarks he allegedly had made about Allama Iqbal and said that he now stood fully exposed.

He accused the Azad Kashmir President of working against the interest of the people of the valley and of deviating from the "ultimate goal of Kashmir's accession with Pakistan."

/9738

Embassy Denies Kuwait Deporting Expatriates
46000050d Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Kuwait, Dec 19: Pakistan Embassy in Kuwait has denied Press reports that a large number of Pakistani expatriates are in Kuwaiti jails on charge of entering and staying in Kuwait illegally.

First Secretary of Pakistan Embassy, Mr Said Akbar Afridi, said that no Pakistani entrants were in Kuwaiti jails except three, who entered into the country from Iraq. He said they were issued travel documents to return to Pakistan.

Mr Afridi was commenting on the reports published in Pakistan newspapers that about 900 Pakistanis were at present confined in Kuwaiti jails for infiltration and illegal stay.

He also denied that a large number of Pakistanis were being deported from Kuwait for illegal stay. He explained that a large number of expatriates of various nationalities were returning home in the wake of a new Residence Law and shrinking job opportunities.

Kuwait had amended its Residence Law for Expatriates in a bid to stem the flow of foreign labour and monitor movement of expatriates within the country. The new regulation stipulates stiff penalties for Residence Law violators.

The new regulations were introduced at a time when Kuwait had launched a five-year plan to reduce the number of expatriates in the country. Expatriates form 60 per cent of the total population of Kuwait, according to 1985 census.

Kuwait Government last September gave a three-month ultimatum to the expatriates staying in Kuwait without residence permit to legalise their status or leave the country. The deadline which expired on Dec. 12 has since been extended.

Mr Afridi said that the returning Pakistanis were not deportees but those who entered Kuwait legally while they were unable to renew their permits in time because of various reasons. He said these expatriates were now taking benefit of the government amnesty to avoid harsh penalties under new regulations.

He said that Pakistan International Airlines had earlier arranged some special flights to cope with the rush of returning Pakistanis. But, he added, special flights were not required now since the government had extended the amnesty period.—APP

/12223

Joint Chambers of Commerce With Bangladesh Proposed
46000050e Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Karachi, Dec 19: Vice-President, Democratic League of Bangladesh, Mr Zaherr Ahmed Farid, has called for the setting up of Joint Chambers of Commerce and Industry by Pakistan and his country, to further promote trade links.

Speaking at a lunch, hosted by Mr Khalil Ahmed Nainitalwala, Senior Vice-President, National Peoples Party, Sind, at his residence on Saturday, he said that the requirement of visa between the two brotherly countries should also be abolished.

He called for accelerating the pace of investment from Pakistani entrepreneurs in Bangladesh and added that there existed immense possibilities for forging economic ties between the two countries.

Mr Zaheer Ahmed who is son of prominent political leader late Moulvi Farid Ahmed, currently on a private visit to Pakistan, said his party stood for renaming Bangladesh as East Pakistan.

He said there was a lot of hatred for India among the people of Bangladesh.

Biharis: Replying to a question, Mr Zaheer, a former MNA, said there were two and a half lakh Biharis in camps in Dhaka, who did not want to live in Bangladesh, but wished to be repatriated to Pakistan.

Earlier, in a brief speech Mr Nainitalwala lauded the services rendered by late Moulvi Farid Ahmed.

He announced that the NPP delegation will visit Bangladesh next month and visit camps of stranded Biharis in Dhaka, Khulna and Chittagong, to review arrangements for their repatriation to Pakistan. The delegation will be led by Mr Khalil Nainitalwala.—PPI

/12223

Jamaat-e-Islami Demands Fresh Elections
46000055c Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Badrul Islam Butt]

[Text] Lahore, Dec. 22—The Jamaat-e-Islami, while calling for fresh election in the country during the next year, on party-basis and proportionate representation has demanded on immediate resignation by the President from the office of the Chief of Army Staff in order to put an end to the current crisis in the country.

The demand reflects a somewhat change of stance in Jamaat policy towards the present Government. It was voiced in a resolution adopted by the Central Majlis Shoora at its recent session. The resolution was released at a Press conference addressed by the newly elected office bearers of the Jamaat Tuesday. The Majlis Shoora, while taking into account the current political situation in the country, strongly criticised the Martial Law and the present Government. They stated in the resolution that the recent Martial Law, which was longest in Pakistan, having crippled the national institutions and the political parties instead of rendering any service to the nation and the country, had employed all the power at its disposal to strengthen further the microscopic minority of the privileged and suppressing the oppressed.

The Martial Law regime exploited Islam in order to prolong its rule. It encouraged Unislamic activities instead of implementing Islam. In complete disregard of its assurances the regime held general elections on a non-party basis, which resulted in chaos in the country.

The President, as stated in the resolution, continued simultaneously as the Chief of Army Staff despite the fact that Martial Law has been lifted hence introducing a tradition of army's continuous meddling with the policies after installation of a civilian government into power. The civilian government, unfortunately went along with the political bribe to serve its selfish motives of antagonism to suppress the national political parties in the opposition. This resulted in throwing open the flood-gates of corruption.

The economic conditions in the country, as further noted in the resolution, had grown worse for the masses in view of the indiscreet policies of the government. As admitted by a provincial head of the government these conditions could lead towards a revolution if government fails in solving the problems of the people. Stressing its demand for fresh elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies in 1988 the Jamaat's shoora demanded that to ensure free and impartial polls national identity cards for the voters should be made compulsory. The Election Commission should be reconstituted by including in it Judges from the Supreme and High Courts and invested with complete powers required for holding elections in a free and impartial manner.

Replying to various questions by newsmen Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that the system of proportional representation was considered as more democratic by the Jamaat. The Jamaat, he said, would decide about its participation in the elections if held in the near future by taking an appraisal of the electoral system. The Jamaat, he cautioned, would in no case accept the elections if the same are again rigged as had been the case with the recent Local Bodies polls. Qazi Hussain Ahmad, however, did not favour the idea of forming a national government saying that the elections in that case could not be held soon. To a question he said that the Jamaat did not believe in right or left but pursued a balanced policy according to Islam. In that position it would not fail its struggle for a just economic order in the country. He said that new Shoora will be elected in March. The central working committee will be nominated from among the Shoora by the Jamaat Amir after March.

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NPP Chairman Demands Fresh Elections
46000054d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
20 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] Karachi, Dec. 19 (PPI)—Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Chairman National People's Party has said his party was opposed to making atomic bomb by Pakistan and believed in the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

"We must use our resources for the betterment of the people. The NPP's programme is to give priority for giving food, shelter and education to the masses", he was talking to foreign journalists—both based in Pakistan and for abroad at a lunch he hosted for them at his residence here today. Central Information Secretary NPP Mr. Nafis Siddiqui and Deputy Secretary General, NPP Nasim Hyder were also present on the occasion.

Mr. Jatoi welcomed the Reagan-Gorbachev summit held in Washington and said the decisions taken by them would help reduce tension and promote peace.

The NPP Chief was of the view that the Iran-Iraq war and the Afghan issue should be resolved without any further delay to further the cause of peace. He said the Afghan issue should be solved in a manner that the Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan, the refugees return to their homeland and people of that country are left to decide their future themselves.

Answering a question Mr. Jatoi said the recent local bodies polls were not a test of popularity for the political parties as these were held on non-party basis. He maintained that the present unrepresentative government had manipulated these elections and resorted to rigging in an organised manner.

He felt that the need of the hour was holding of fresh polls on party basis so that a truly representative government can tide over the crisis faced by the country. The need of the hour was for all democratic forces in the country to unite and exert pressure on the government to hold general elections without any further delay. Since the people have no faith in the present government, such elections should be supervised by an interim government comprising parties which have consistently struggled for the restoration of democracy.

/06091

Election Procedures Criticized

46000051e Karachi DAWN in English 18 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by Dawn Lahore Bureau: "Oasim Slates Show-of-Hand Procedure"]

[Text] December 17: Malik Muhammad Qasim, Secretary-General MRD, has criticised the Government for changing the procedure for electing mayors and chairmen of various tiers of the local bodies from secret ballot to a show of hands.

In a statement here on Thursday, he said it was strange that on one hand the Government claimed that the elections were held on non-party basis while both the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister, Punjab, were nominating the Muslim League's candidate for the Lahore's mayorship on the other. He said though he was least bothered about who should be the next mayor, it was appropriate to point out that the rulers were flouting laws made by themselves and negating their own claims.

It was deplorable, the MRD Secretary-General said, that the mayoral nomination came on a day—Dec 16—which, being the day of dismemberment, required the rulers to learn a lesson from the history and not to repeat the follies that Gen Yahya Khan committed.

Commenting on Khawaja Safdar's expulsion from the Muslim League and reaction of the Prime Minister and Chief Minister, Punjab, that it was an illegal act of some 'new comers' the MRD Secretary-General said they too were 'newcomers' in the Muslim League. It was they, he continued, who passed a law barring him—an old Muslim Leaguer—from using the name of Muslim League.

/12223

Kalabagh Dam Opposed

46000052b Karachi DAWN in English
23 Dec 87 pp 1, 10

[Article by Siddiq Baluch: "Kalabagh Dam Opposed"]

[Text] Karachi, Dec 22: Sind Government's Special Committee on Kalabagh Dam has asked the Provincial Government not to accord approval to the Kalabagh Dam project.

"It (Sind Government) may suggest to the Federal Government that at this stage, if at all a second major dam on the Indus is required, the same may be constructed at Basha (not at Kalabagh) with full assurance that the rights of Sind over Indus waters are fully protected," the Committee recorded its opinion in the final report to the Provincial Government

Sind Chief Minister, Syed Ghaus Ali Shah, had announced the formation of the Special Committee, headed by Pir Sibghatullah Shah, Provincial Minister for Irrigation and Power, on the floor of Sind Assembly while winding up a debate on the controversial dam project in 1986.

The other members of the Committee were: Mr Akhtar Ali G. Kazi, Provincial Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs and Finance; Mr Saleem Jan Mazari, now a Minister in the Provincial Cabinet; Mr Khuda Dino Chandio, Adviser to the Chief Minister; Mr Ghaus Bakhsh Khan Mehar, a former Minister for Agriculture; Mr Liaquat Ali Khan Jatoti and Dr Mrs Amina Ashraf.

All the Members were of the view that there was an urgent need for constructing another reservoir. However, the location of such a dam at Kalabagh is not desirable; they said, for the following reasons:

"I) There is an indication in the Report of the modified Project, that Feasibility Studies are currently in progress for providing High-Level Outlets which could irrigate new areas in the North West Frontier and the Punjab Provinces. If these proposals materialise, then the existing water availability to Sind is bound to reduce.

"II) Written guarantees for not providing irrigation outlets prior to the Federal Government's final decision on Apportionment of Indus Waters, appear to be a probable solution. However, experience has shown that in difficult situations, such guarantees have not come to the rescue of Sind.

"Instances of the operation of Chashma—Jhelum Link in Kharif, 1984, was quoted. It was said that although there was a written agreement between the Sind and Punjab Governments, signed by the Chief Executives of the two Provinces, to the effect that Chashma-Jhelum Link will be operated in Kharif, only when Indus is in high flows to an extent that there is a likelihood of escape downstream Kotri, this Link was operated when there was extreme shortage of river supplies at all the three Barrages in Sind.

"In addition, the said link diverted waters from Indus in spite of the fact that sufficient water was available at that particular time in Mangla Reservoir. This development totally disheartened the farming community in Sind. It has become very apprehensive of the violation of its right by any new development on the rivers in the northern region.

"Therefore, there is every possibility of a strong agitation against the project which would be very trying for the Provincial Government.

"The Committee is, therefore, of the view that the design of any proposed dam should be so prepared that in itself it is a guarantee that there will be no diversion of water for the irrigation of new areas. The condition is essential to allay the apprehensions of the farming community in Sind in respect of protection of their rights.

"(III) In view of the foregoing, the safest guarantee for ensuring adequate supply to Sind should be of a geographical nature. In this context, a dam at Basha appears to be more appropriate. The added advantage in locating the second major dam on the Indus at Basha is that there will be reduction in sedimentation in Tarbela Reservoir which will be helpful in prolonging the latter's life."

/12223

Ex-Punjab Governor Claims Economic Revolution Imminent

46000049d Karachi DAWN in English 21 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Dawn Islamabad Bureau: "'Revolution Imminent'"]

[Text] December 20: Former Governor of Punjab and a Martial Law convict, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar, has said that "socio-economic revolution" was inevitable due to growing economic disparities in the society.

Talking to newsmen within the premises of Rawalpindi district courts on Sunday, where he was brought by the police from Adiala Jail in connection with the hearing of Liaquat Bagh firing case, the former Governor said that change of faces was no answer to the problems being faced by the people at large. "Only change in system", he stressed, "was required.

The former Governor claimed that the Muslim League government was an extension of the Martial Law regime. The martial law courts, he pointed out, have been substituted by the special courts established by this Government.

PPI adds: Touching scenes were witnessed when four minor children of Ghulam Mustafa Khar, former Governor and Chief Minister of Punjab now under detention in Central Prison near here, met their father in the Court of Additional District and Sessions Judge, Rawalpindi.

Mr Khar was brought to the court in the custody of a heavy contingent of armed police to face trial in the much published Liaquat Bagh firing case.

His children, two sons Hamza and Ali and two daughters Neseeba and Habiba were brought to Rawalpindi by their elder stepbrother Abdur Rehman Khar.

/12223

Repatriation of Expatriate in Bangladesh Urged 46000052a Karachi DAWN in English 22 Dec 87 p 4

[Text] Karachi, Dec 21: Dr Shafi Bezar, Chairman of the International Council for Repatriation of Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh, an organisation of Pakistani immigrants in the USA, has refuted the impression that if the stranded Pakistanis are repatriated from Bangladesh, they will become a burden on the economy of Pakistan, says a Press release.

Dr Bezar, who is on a brief visit to Karachi these days, has visited various sectors of the Orangi Town along with Mr Afaq Shahid, MNA, and discussed with him steps to be taken for the repatriation of the Pakistanis in Bangladesh.

During his visit to various sectors of Orangi, he found that, by and large, even women and children were earning their livelihood, although they had never been given any help by the Government.

Dr Bezar said the Government should arrange the repatriation of its citizens without any further delay and if there were any financial obstacles, his organisation was prepared to cooperate with the Government in this regard.

Dr Bezar is now leaving for Bangladesh, where he will visit the camps of the stranded Pakistanis and, on return from Dhaka, he will hold a Press conference in Karachi.

/12223

Reasons Detailed for Students Going to USSR

46000054e Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
21 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai: "Pak Students Studying in USSR May Stay for Good"]

[Text] Peshawar, Dec. 20—More than 600 Pakhtoon and Baluch students from Pakistan are presently studying in the Soviet Union where they were sent on passports issued by the Afghan Government. At least 300 are receiving higher education mostly in medicine, in Afghanistan while a significant number of Pakistanis are being educated in schools in Kabul and Jalalabad, most prominent of which is the Khushal Khan Lycee (school).

Students graduating from the Soviet Union have started returning to Afghanistan and Pakistan this year and their numbers would grow from next year. Quite a few graduates have opted to study for their postgraduation while many have decided to stay back in the Soviet Union, probably for good. In fact, many Pakistani students have been living there for more than ten years. The problem of absorption of Pakistanis educated in the USSR is destined to become acute in the coming years because the

government has been hitherto reluctant to accommodate those who proceeded abroad illegally. The fears of indoctrination have also stalked the government.

Afghanistan has traditionally been attracting Pakhtoon and Baluch students and successive Afghan regimes be they the monarchy of King Zahir Shah or the Republican Government of Sardar Daoud or the PDPA regimes which have ruled the country since April 1978, have offered free education to the 'free tribes'—term employed to refer to the people of NWFP and Baluchistan the northward migration of our students however got a boost in the wake of the Saur Revolution. The number of such students has risen manifold despite being considered unwelcome by official circles and in view of an uncertain future which awaits them on their return home. Even the hurdles reportedly put up by Afghan Mujahideen and pro-establishment tribesmen to block their routes on the Durand Line to Afghanistan have not deterred them.

This correspondent during a recent visit to Afghanistan learnt that 85 to 90 per cent of students who travel to Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are Pakhtoons hailing from both settled and tribal areas of NWFP and Baluchistan, while the rest are Baluch. Majority of the students are recommended by ANP leaders while the leadership of PNP, MKP, NAP Pashtoonkhwa, Tehrik Ittehad-i-Oabail and certain tribal leaders also issue recommendatory letters occasionally. The students who cross over into Afghanistan illegally passing through unfrequented routes, are referred to Afghanistan Ministry for Tribes and Nationalities which then takes care of them and arranges for their admission and stay. Only rarely do these students travel on Pakistani passports, that too if the person concerned is influential enough to be allowed to do so.

The temptation to study in Afghanistan and in the Soviet Union is obvious. Education is totally free along with boarding and lodging and the students are provided not only books but some pocket-money and fare for undertaking the journey from their home towns in NWFP and Baluchistan to either Jalalabad or Kabul. Students at the Khushal Khan Lycee, headquartered in Kabul but now operating a branch in Jalalabad, would be provided an English suit from next year. Those studying in the Soviet Union are entitled to travel free by air from Kabul to any place there once after getting admission and again after graduating. The monthly stipend which was 90 Roubles till now is being raised to 135 Roubles. Students are allowed to take up jobs during their vacations to earn some extra Roubles although their monthly stipend is considered more or less sufficient to take care of expenses incurred on food, etc. But the biggest consideration which tempts the students to seek education in Afghanistan and USSR is the difficulty experienced in getting admission in universities and colleges, particularly professional ones, at home and the huge costs involved.

The educational system in USSR offers a variety of courses and diplomas from which the Pakistanis can choose depending on their aptitude and marks which are judged by Soviet educationists. Those found fit to pursue higher education are sent to institutions equivalent to our universities, while Technicoms train students in technical skills for a three-year period including one year reserved for Russian language courses. Students who secure the best marks, termed *Otlichno*, are entitled to shift to institutes for higher education. Only a few Pakistanis are studying in Technicoms as many have won the right to study at institutes after obtaining good marks. The institutes, which are mostly located in cities like Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Volgograd, Zaparosa, Minsk, Rustov, Venitsaw, Kharkov, Tbilisi and Baku besides Tashkent in Central Asia, offer 5-7 years diploma courses mostly in Science Subjects. Medicine and Engineering are the most sought after fields while Postgraduate students could opt for advanced Medical Specialisation or even in Air or Naval Technology in Engineering. Opportunities for diploma in Humanities are also available and one such subject is Journalism.

Russian language courses are essential before starting regular studies. A one-year preparatory Russian language course is offered by a faculty in Kabul University where presently about 50 Pakistanis are admitted along with Afghan students. Many others learn Russian language in the Soviet Union. Both the Pakhtoons and Baluch from Pakistan and Afghans travel on Afghanistan's passports and are entitled equally to all privileges.

About 300 Pakistani students, mainly Pakhtoons, are presently studying either Medicine, Engineering or other subjects in Afghanistan. Most of them are students of the Medical Faculty of the Bayazid Roshan University in Jalalabad, although quite a few study Engineering, Economics, Agriculture and Humanities both here or in Kabul University. Majority of these students are affiliated with the Pakhtoon Students Federation while the rest owe allegiance to Democratic Students Federation, Pashtoonkhwa Students Organisation, and Tribal Students Organisation.

School education of tribal students from Pakistan is well looked after by the Khushal Khan Lycee in Kabul and Jalalabad, and to some extent by the Rahman Baba Lycee in Afghanistan's capital which the Afghan Government had commissioned for its own tribesmen. The Khushal Khan Lycee, now providing education till intermediate level, has amongst its alumni a number of prominent figures. Former Interior and Tribes and Nationalities Minister Faiz Mohammad Khan Mahsud, who was killed by opponents of the PDPA regime in Khost in Sept 1980, was educated in this school. So was Niaz Mohammad Mohmand, presently a member of the ruling PDPA politburo, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Sarfraz Mohmand and head of PDPA Central Committee for Tribes and Nationalities Abdur Rashid Waziri. All of them originally belong to Pakistan's tribal area.

Exiled Leader Espouses Pakhtoon Cause
46000055b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
22 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai]

[Text] Peshawar, Dec. 21—Ajmal Khattak, former General Secretary of the now defunct National Awami Party, has disclosed that he was currently engaged in organising tribesmen living in Pakistan's tribal areas so as to enable them to safeguard their special status in view of the official threats to their independence.

In an interview with *THE MUSLIM* in Kabul recently, the 63-year-old Pakhtoon politician explained that the tribesmen are encouraged to hold their jirgas in Afghanistan because authorities in Pakistan discourage and even prevent such assemblies. He said the Afghan Government by hosting such jirgas was fulfilling its historical and traditional responsibilities bestowed on it by deep-rooted bonds of blood, religion and race which bind the peoples living on both sides of Durand Line.

Ajmal Khattak, who has been living in self-exile in Afghanistan since 1973, refuted allegations that the tribesmen were being armed and trained for committing terrorist acts. The tribesmen with a love for arms definitely come up with demands to be supplied modern weapons but the Afghan authorities politely refuse such demands. We tell them they must first organise themselves and achieve unity in their ranks before making such demands, explained Mr. Khattak. He maintained that all tribal jirgas held so far in Afghanistan are open houses.

He pointed out that tribesmen constituted a big force which could be used effectively in the struggle of the Pakhtoon nation to win their rights at this critical juncture of their history. He said the tribesmen felt threatened by the machinations of Pakistan's military rulers to turn their territory into a battleground at the behest of U.S. imperialism. "We are engaged in a very fundamental task with far-reaching consequences".

He sounded optimistic when questioned about the future of national movements in Pakistan. He argued that both negative and positive factors in the prevailing circumstances made him optimistic that the military and civil bureaucracy ruling the country in partnership with feudal and capitalist classes would be humbled by the combined strength of the oppressed, progressive and nationalist forces. He advocated acceptance of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's proposal for building a new Pakistan on the basis of equality among the four provinces. He felt ANP's demand for holding elections to a new Constituent Assembly on party basis could resolve the national question now stalking Pakistan.

Ajmal Khattak, who is a renowned Pashto poet and has published 12 books of poetry and prose including one in Urdu, maintained that Pakhtoons were deprived of their rights in political, economic, cultural and administrative spheres. Moreover, he claimed Pakhtoon share in Government machinery, especially in the Armed Forces, had fallen sharply and their culture had been disfigured and their language ignored. He emphasised that Pakhtoon nationalism had been strengthened after winning over new adherents including the rising bourgeoisie and the national entrepreneurs who considered it a scientific concept unlike the older class of nationalists who believed in feudal Pakhtoon nationalism. He said the urge to unite had never been so strong among Pakhtoons in both NWFP and Baluchistan and demands for renaming the Pakhtoon land as Pakhtoonkhwa had become vocal and popular. He clarified that he and other Pakhtoon nationalists did not advocate separation from Pakistan because the Pakhtoons had been absorbed to a great extent in the country's economic and social life. However, he remarked that we may not be able to save Pakistan's ship from sinking if the rulers were determined to do so as their actions proved.

Mr. Khattak said he considered ANP as the modern-day version of the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement which was rooted in the psyche of the majority of Pakhtoons due to its pioneering role in the struggle for independence. He claimed the Shahinshah of Iran and King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan had ganged up to defeat NAP in the 1970 elections in both NWFP and Baluchistan and had spent huge amounts of money for the purpose as they felt threatened by its victory in the provinces bordering their countries. He alleged that there existed a Tehran-Islamabad-Kabul axis in the past aimed at weakening ANP and its allies in the national struggle.

The former NAP leader informed that Dr. Najibullah's Government was more generous and supportive of Pakhtoon and Baluch nationalists living in exile in Afghanistan unlike past PDPA regimes, especially under Noor Mohammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, which even tried to set up a Khalq Democratic Party of their own in Pakistan. He said the policy of national reconciliation was bound to succeed as it aimed at nursing the wounds suffered by the Afghans in their fratricidal war.

Ajmal Khattak said he will return to Pakistan if ordered by the Khudai Khidmatgars and the ANP and provided there was positive political change and the Pakhtoons got their due rights. Living in Kabul's posh Wazir Akbar Khan Mena in a bungalow provided by the Afghan Government, Mr. Khattak lives with his family and spends his days and nights composing poetry and participating in political and cultural activities. One of his sons is studying for Ph.D in the Soviet Union, another is engineering student in Hungary, while a third one recently qualified with a Master's Degree in Economics from Bulgaria. His elder daughter is married and the younger is studying medicine in Hungary. Apart from his old poetry books many of which have been reprinted in

Afghanistan. A biography of his literary career in Pashto prose is nearing completion while an Urdu poetry book is also ready for printing. It will be his first effort in Urdu verse as earlier he wrote in prose about the history of Pashto literature. Some of his famous Pashto poetry works include 'Kachkol' Palwalwashay' Da Zha Pagal Wom', Da Ghairat Chagha', 'Gul Pohar' and 'Zhwand Au Khwand'.

/06091

Economic Growth Examined

46000054c Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
19 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by Nihal Ahmad: "Pakistan's Weakness in Enhancing Growth"]

[Text] Recent months saw a strange mixture of admonitions, some wailing, emphases on structural weaknesses and a fair dose of prescriptive medicine being hawked around by Pakistan's economic VIPs. The trend was set by Dr. Mahbubul Haq with his so-many-points programme and other homilies. He was followed by his one-time World Bank compatriot, Shahid Javed Burki, with his plea for a new social compact (for development) between the people and the government. And now, as if to describe the crescendo has come Mr. V.A. Jafarey's outfit, the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) whose annual report for 1986-87 deliberately deepens the gloom around.

This year's report appears to be unique in its almost-desperate effort to emphasise the weaknesses of our economy. No doubt, there has been a long tradition of the State Bank's criticism of governmental policies, but much of it was no more than a tap on the wrist and, more or less, proforma. This year it seems, Mr. Jafarey's back-room boys have decided that it is time to use at least an ordinary hammer, if not a sledge-hammer. Never before has this kind of treatment been given to the government and its so-called economic performance; every index of growth, as soon as it is recorded, is qualified for its overall insignificance. It seems that the State Bank boys are impotently fuming and fretting and want the rest of the country to know that they can do no more than lament.

Indices

What no one has clearly said needs, however, to be articulated; the kind of litany of the various indices of growth to which we in Pakistan have become familiar and which has been the wont of all Pakistan governments mean simply nothing unless several other facts are also disclosed. Neither the good Dr. Mahbubul Haq nor Mr. Shahid Javed Burki nor the State Bank have done so. True, the SBP report does manage to say and imply, if read carefully, many of these things, though not all. Even

so, it would be useful first to take note of what the authoritative document of the Central Bank underlines as major structural weaknesses of the economy.

The first consideration ought to be the composition of the recorded growth of 7 per cent in the GDP. The SBP has done a fairly good job of doing this, including its taking note of the disproportion between the services and commodity sectors (and the shares of small-scale industry to large-scale industry).

Everybody has taken pained note of the low National Savings rates: despite a slight increase in 1986-87, it continues to be abysmally low at about 13 to 14 per cent. Other developing countries at a similar stage of development as Pakistan are returning much higher rates—from 20 to 36 per cent. No one has come up with a formula for setting things right. Indeed, the SBP report only shows an awareness of the fact that ordinary people are saving as much as is possible for them to do so. The real mischief lies elsewhere: The figures of the savings rate are in fact misleading because they include home remittances, few of which are invested productively. The real trouble is insufficient investments and excessive consumption.

Report

These facts are commonly noted and the SBP report goes to town on the subject and holds the government squarely responsible for it. There is no doubt that the government is the chief offender. Certainly, something ought to be done about its unquenchable thirst for continuous expansion in non-productive expenditure. World Bank luminaries pinpoint the subject—but only from the angle of fiscal deficit. These are bad enough, certainly. (The SBP report takes note of the fact that the government's heavy borrowings, both from domestic sources and from abroad, will create additional burdens in future years). Its intimate connection indeed is the other side of the same coin—with the worrying phenomenon of run-away consumption rate is not adequately emphasised much less, remedies suggested.

The SBP report performs a useful service by aiming much of its fire at the Government for its profligacy in borrowing right and left: it borrows from abroad, it creates fictional revenues by deficit financing "narrowly defined", borrows from small savers and it also goes to commercial banks for financing some of its commodity operations. (An important aspect of the latter operations is the quality of deficit financing). It also notes that while the non-productive expenditure is increasing by about 17 per cent, the so-called development expenditure is increasing by only about 11 per cent. Everybody deprecates the government's consistent failure to tax the economy enough—its revenue-increasing rate (at 10 per cent) lags far behind the rate at which its expenditures are going up.

Nobody has asked the question pointedly how or why the government is so helpless about raising revenues. Only Mr. Burki has tackled a part of the government's dilemma. Others, including the SBP, has managed to divert the discussion on to a misleading plane. Several things have been forgotten. The government has to cut its coat according to the cloth available, at least over a period of time. Well defined criteria have to be employed in the matter of raising revenue. In a society like Pakistan's, Reaganomics has played havoc: direct taxes have actually declined at a time when (i) expenditures are rising steeply; (ii) indirect taxes are exerting unbeatable pressures on the populace; and (iii) the effects of heavy borrowing are distorting the overall picture. Year after year, the recipients of freshly-created wealth in a highly-iniquitous system of distribution are not paying enough taxes if anything at all. Reaganomics says do not tax them because they will invest their extra money and produce plenty. This nostrum did not produce the expected results, in the US and Britain, and has done nothing good in Pakistan. It is time to realise that Reaganomics is actually economics.

Criterion

One criterion has been studiously avoided: who are being affected and how much they are being affected by the present development model. None of our economic wizards have even attempted to analyse the social and economic effects of allowing the rich to go on becoming richer by not taxing them and not forcing them to invest in useful ways. Then, there is the price situation: here at least the SBP has, mercifully, tried to focus attention on the underlying inflationary pressures. But even this august institution failed to analyse adequately the price phenomena and pinpoint the adequacy or otherwise of the three price indices the government employs. It is even less realistic to expect these people to analyse the larger sociological consequences of the political and social policies implicit in the economic policies being pursued. Nevertheless, for the rest of us who are interested in the development of the country from the viewpoint of the actual welfare of the common people, these larger questions are of far greater importance.

Facts

The other facts need to be underlined. First, we all regret the continuous expansion in non-developmental expenditures. However, it is vitally necessary to be sure of what we are talking about. Ruthless across-the-board cuts in all revenue expenditures would be grievously wrong: this may mean hospitals without doctors, nurses and medicines—or schools without teachers, blackboards and chalks. We must know where to cut and cut heavily. On the other hand, overall investments may look respectable enough. But here too we should ensure that investments, especially in the private sector, are going into larger and necessary industrial projects. (Pakistan can afford to remain in a backward state with an under-developed services sector for several decades).

Finally, one must revert to the subject of distribution. What is the point of continuous growth if the benefits of it are restricted to a small number of people. It must be admitted that one facet of the problem has been sufficiently attended to: Pakistan's heavy dependence on foreign aid has been noted, deprecated and its deleterious effects enumerated. However, its impact on income distribution within the country has been neglected. Then, there is the much-discussed question of black economy and its obverse of corruption within government portals. Few wizards can be found who have a prescription for this all-consuming disease. Insofar as the question of a new social compact, advocated by Burki, is concerned, the question is who is to formulate it and who is to arrange its acceptance by the common people. What he is talking about is a new political leadership, with a new programme that the people will willingly accept. However, there is no evidence of either a new political force emerging or of a programme that can be expected to generate such a leadership.

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Chashma Irrigation Project Gets Funds

46000050c Karachi DAWN in English 21 Dec 87 p 5

[Text] Karachi, Dec 20: The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a concessional loan of 48 million dollars for the Chashma Right Bank Irrigation Project (Stage II) in the NWFP, which will bring irrigation to about 6,600 farm families and generate an additional annual farm labour demand of an estimated 4600 work-years.

The loan, drawn from the Bank's Asian Development Fund, will finance 80 per cent of the total cost of the project. The cropped land in the project area will increase from 17,000 hectares to 57,000 hectares, and the added value in crop and livestock production is estimated at about 13.3 million dollars annually.

The project is part of a development plan formulated in the early 1970's for the irrigation of lands on the right bank of the Indus River below the Chashma Barrage. The plan has been supported by three previous Bank loans, and 79 kms of the main canal have already been built.

The current project will extend the main Chashma Right Bank Canal by about 36 kms and provide along its bank a gravel surfaced access road. An additional 117 kms of distributory canals and 51 kms of minor canals will be constructed, along with complementary buildings, roads, bridges and surface drainage. The canals, in turn, will feed 310 new water courses.

Equipment required for operation and maintenance, as well as a high frequency radio communication system, will be provided to the agencies and institutions involved in the project.

The project will also support expanded training activities offered by the Dera Ismail Khan On-farm Water Management Training Institute, the Agricultural Extension Services and the Department of Livestock and Dairy Development.

The executing agencies of the project are the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) and the NWFP government through the Irrigation and Public Health Department and the Department of Agriculture.

The Chashma Right Bank Irrigation Project (Stage II) consists of the following components main irrigation and drainage facilities comprising the main canal of 36 kms in length; distributory canals totalling 117 kms in length, 16 minor canals and 167 km of main surface collector drains and 130 km of flood carrier drains, distributory canal access road, on-farm water management comprising water course construction and support for the On-farm Water Management Training Institute, institutional strengthening including Agricultural Extension Services.

The estimated date of completion of the project is December 31, 1992.—PPI

/12223

Commentary Condemns Ordinance on Women
46000055a Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
21 Dec 87 pp 4, 5

[Commentary by Sabiha Sumar and Khalid Nadvi: "Zina: The Hudood Ordinance and Its Implications for Women"]

[Text] On 7th November 1987 a court in Karachi sentenced a woman of twenty-five (Shahida Parveen) and a man of thirty (Mohammad Sarwar) to death by stoning. The heinous crime for which these two have been charged and have met such punishment is that of zina-bil-jabr (which is considered close to the concept of rape).

The case is not simple. The woman had been divorced by her first husband. Divorce papers had been signed in front of a magistrate. The document however had not been registered in the local council office by the husband as required by law, and was therefore not legally binding. Unaware of this, Shahida, meanwhile, set out her period of iddat (the traditional period of ninety-six days before which a woman cannot remarry following a divorce, as laid down in the Quran) with her parents in Lahore, then, subsequently remarried. Shahida had an affidavit attested by a magistrate in Lahore to confirm her status as an adult free to marry whosoever she wished. As far as she was concerned she was on safe ground.

Her first husband, rebounding from a failed attempt at a second marriage, decided he wanted his first wife, Shahida, back. Given that he had not had the divorce

documents registered, his marriage to her was still legally binding. Hence, her second marriage to Sarwar was by definition Zina/zina-bil-jabr (adultery/rape). Hence stoning to death.

Since the martial law government in Pakistan introduced the Hudood Ordinance in 1979, the present elected government confirmed the law on the statute books after coming to power in 1985.

The background to the Hudood Ordinance lies in the desire of the Pakistani government to bring laws in Pakistan in conformity with the Quran and Sunnah. It is an integral part of the much heralded Islamisation process presently taking place in this country.

Offences

The Hudood Ordinance deals with the offences of prohibition (consumption of drugs and alcohol), zina (rape, adultery, fornication), theft and Qazf (perjury). It is with regard to zina that the Hudood Ordinance has been most controversial.

Prior to 1979, adultery and fornication were not crimes against the State. Under the Hudood Ordinance both are now serious offences liable for the heaviest of punishment—death, and that also by stoning.

Zina is defined as wilful sex between two adults who are not validly married to each other. Where sex takes place against the will or consent of a person (either man or woman) or by use of force, or where one person is falsely led to believe that his/her partner is validly married to him/her, is defined as zina-bil-jabr.

Both types of zina are liable to the Hadd punishment (stoning to death in public) if either a confession is obtained, or if the actual act of penetration is witnessed by four adult, pious, and forthright males. Failing this the lighter punishment of Tazir (rigorous imprisonment and whipping) applies. Tazir punishment is given when despite there being no witnesses, or confession, the court is convinced that zina or zina-bil-jabr took place.

The implications arising out of the Hudood Ordinance are severe, and its interpretation can lead to serious miscarriages of justice for women. Whilst zina effectively applies to adultery or fornication and zina-bil-jabr to rape (either by the man or the woman) the onus of providing proof in a rape of a woman rests on the woman herself. If she is unable to convince the court, her allegation that she has been raped is in itself considered as a confession of zina (sex outside marriage) and the rape victim effectively implicates herself and is liable to punishment. Furthermore, the woman can be categorised as the rapist herself since it is often assumed that she seduced the man.

Victim

In fact, such cases have occurred where a rape victim is herself punished for zina while the rapists roam the streets. In July 1983, Safia Bibi, an eighteen year-old blind girl, raped by her landlord and his son, and subsequently pregnant, was sentenced by the trial court to 15 lashes (to be administered publicly) plus 3 years imprisonment for zina. Unable to positively identify her assailants, the rapists were acquitted of the crime. Similarly, a thirteen year-old orphan girl was raped by her uncle and his son and became pregnant. Unable to convince the court that rape had occurred, she was awarded the Tazir punishment of 100 lashes plus 3 years rigorous imprisonment for zina; the fact that she was pregnant being proof for the court that sex outside marriage had taken place.

Various types of miscarriages occur in practice. A husband can file an FIR with the police alleging that his wife has left him with another man. On the strength of this allegation the wife and her alleged lover are arrested and sent to jail to await trial. This is an extremely powerful lever of control that a man can, and often does, use to subjugate his wife.

For example, if a woman files for divorce against her husband and leaves her home (as required in law) her husband can file an allegation of zina against his wife if she moves into a household which has a man other than her blood relative. In early 1987 Roshan Jan (24 years) filed for divorce against her husband on the grounds of severe physical mistreatment, and moved into her neighbour's house. Her husband lodged an FIR alleging that she was committing adultery (zina) with the married neighbour. On the basis of this FIR Roshan Jan was arrested and has been in jail, without legal aid, awaiting trial for zina.

Even if a divorce document is attested by a magistrate, if the husband fails to register it with the chairman of the local council as legally required, the divorce is invalid. If the woman is unaware of this and subsequently remarries she can be prosecuted for zina. Furthermore, in such a case the woman can be accused of raping her second husband (zina-bil-jabr) on the grounds that she misled him into believing that she was validly divorced. The Shahida-Sarwar case, mentioned above, is one such example.

One of the most frequent circumstances under which zina is alleged to have occurred is in cases of elopement. Of the forty-four women in Karachi Jail charged with zina, over half are accused of having committed zina due to abduction. The assumption being that with any couple who elope (or as is absurdly stated where a woman is abducted) sex must have taken place, and they are thereby liable to prosecution for zina.

Eighteen year-old Zahida is one such case of being charged with zina on the grounds that she ran away with her fiancé. Her step-mother wanted her to marry an elderly man (who was willing to pay a higher bride price). Zahida refused and eloped with the intention of secretly marrying her fiancé. Her father lodged an FIR of abduction the same day and the police picked them up at 4 a.m. They were charged with zina. Both are now in jail. Zahida's case is representative of many other cases with similar circumstances.

If the accused parties in a zina case cannot be found, it is quite common for the police to arrest close relatives (usually elderly parents) who are charged with being accomplices to zina. They are thereby liable to the punishment of Tazir (lashes and rigorous imprisonment). Naikan Bibi (sixty years) is an illustration of such an accusation. Her son ran away with an unmarried woman. The girl's family unable to trace the couple lodged a complaint against Naikan Bibi and her husband as accomplices to zina. Both she and her husband are now in jail, without legal support and under the threat of the punishment of whipping (despite being over sixty years old). Again it is assumed that the two who ran away have necessarily committed zina. There are at least 3 such cases in Karachi Jail in which elderly parents have been accused of being accomplices to zina.

Prisoners

Of the forty-four women in Karachi Jail accused of zina, at least thirty-six are cases with circumstances similar to those described above. Clearly, therefore, the present interpretation of the Hudood Ordinance leaves much to be desired. Furthermore, of these forty-four women at least seventeen have been in jail for over a year, some even for five years, awaiting trial. Bail in cases of zina is usually set at Rs 20,000-30,000. A sum which is beyond the reach of most of the accused, given that they all come from low-income social backgrounds. As it is, bail could realistically only be furnished by the husband or the father, and it is they who are often the complainants. Consequently, without the economic support of either the husband or father, the women are left to fester in jail. In cases where bail has been furnished by the husband, it often becomes a powerful weapon to threaten their wives into submission. If the wife "steps out of line" they will withdraw the bail and she will be sent back to jail.

Parveen's (18 years) husband left her with her in-laws and took up a job in the Middle East. Her in-laws, in debt to a creditor, agreed to give her in exchange in order to clear the loan. Her husband, on returning filed a complaint of zina. Parveen was arrested. Her husband then furnished her bail, but at the time of returning to his job in the Middle East cancelled her bail, thereby sending her back to jail.

Blackmailing

In Ghulam Sakina's (aged 55) case bail has been used as a weapon by her husband. Ghulam Sakina and her husband had been falsely arrested as accomplices in a

zina case. Her husband obtained bail and, eventually, bailed Sakina out. In the time that lapsed between arranging for the bail and getting Sakina out, her husband had found himself a lover. Sakina says "this was nothing new for my husband; he is always bringing women home, this time the difference was that he could avoid arguments with me by cancelling my bail." He did exactly that and Sakina was back in jail. Since Sakina doesn't have a lawyer it is unlikely that her case (in which as it is she has been falsely implicated) is going to come up for trial in the near future. As her husband is unlikely to bail her out (unless he bores of his new lover), Sakina is doomed to remain in jail.

According to the data collected in 1982 by the Women's Division, Government of Pakistan, there were a total of seventy female convicts in the whole of Pakistan. Today there are sixty-seven in Karachi jail and a further twenty-four in Sukkur jail (jails for which figures have been collected by independent observers). This rapid increase in numbers, and the development of a new jail solely for women, in Larkana, shows the increasing awareness amongst men of the powers that the Hudood Ordinance has placed in their hands. Although the Hudood Ordinance was promulgated in 1979, it seems that now, 8 years later, men have become more confident of the manner in which they can get away with the sexual exploitation of women rape and the ways in which they can control the lives of their wives and daughters. Furthermore, men and women who have found that they are unable to make their choice concerning marriage, with the consent of their parents, have eloped and found themselves in jail facing the threat of the death punishment for zina.

It is also clear that all these women presently in jail share a low income social background. It is commonly acknowledged that women from low income communities face the greatest degree of sexual and social oppression. Most of them are unaware of their civil and legal rights, and for that matter the stipulations of the Hudood Ordinance. It is precisely because of their lack of awareness that women in jail are more vulnerable, weaker, and prone to harassment in every way. The jail authorities have in their own minds already convicted these women and they are treated like criminals. The ponderous legal system and lack of legal aid perpetuates these conditions for women under trial.

The Hudood Ordinance has without a doubt weakened the position of women in Pakistani society. It has taken from their dignity and their ability to decide their own lives and left them as pawns in the hands of an oppressive legal order. The manner in which it has been used coupled with the ambiguities within it clearly show that women's security and rights are far lower today than ever before. The Hudood Ordinance unquestionably hangs like the swords of Damocles over the head of all women in Pakistan. This repressive legislation must therefore be repealed.

/06091

Commentary Views Syed's Arrest

46000054a Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Dec 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Enigma of G.M. Syed"]

[Text] The relationship between the Federal Government and the Sind politician G.M. Syed has always been intriguing. It has been so for the past 20 years or more. The old man of Sann is frustrated. He talks without any qualms about the undoing of Pakistan and accuses the head of the state, with impunity, of sharing the same ideal. And surprisingly, he appeared to be getting away with it all. No eyebrows were raised in the capital. Not only that, he was allowed to go to Bombay to see his ailing friend Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and while in India he reportedly spoke against the founder of Pakistan. How is it that he is suddenly detained one fine morning for violating the ban on holding public meetings? The Government has not come out with an explanation save the cryptic comment by the Sind Chief Minister that 'no one is above the law.' That does not explain the arrest which has resulted in protests not only by his followers but also other political activists as well.

In fact bitter protests erupted in which two students were killed at the hands, allegedly, of the law enforcing agencies. The killing has increased tension and now the central President of the Jeay Sind Students Federation has announced the observance of a "black day" next Sunday to mourn their death. The situation could deteriorate further with tensions spreading beyond the district of Dadu where schools and colleges have been closed. Tempers are high and any provocation by the so-called law enforcing agencies may turn the, so far, peaceful rallies into violent demonstrations creating an ugly situation for which the Sind administration would then be held responsible. The best thing would be to set the old man free and let him say his piece. He has been propagating this ideology for years now without anything collapsing as a result. After all, the Government claims that the majority of the people are behind it. And that human rights have been restored and there exists freedom of expression.

The riddle, however, of the Government's attitude towards the aging politician continues to persist.

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Commentary Urges Restraint To Prevent Crisis in Kashmir

46000051c Karachi DAWN in English 20 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] The worsening situation in Azad Kashmir calls for prudence and restraint on the part of both the Government and the opposition Awami Ittehad to prevent a full-blown crisis. Charges of rigging and unfair practices in elections are common in our part of the world. But

adopting a smug attitude towards such allegations or threatening the protestors with dire consequences only makes things worse. The best method of dealing with such problems is political rather than administrative. The extraordinary success of the ruling party was already suspect in the eyes of many observers. Then there was that Kotli episode in which a number of persons were killed in a firing incident. The opposition alleged that a government party member had opened fire during repolling in a disputed constituency. Something appears to have gone wrong from this point onwards. The government prevaricated for some time before ordering an inquiry. This was followed by verbal outbursts against those accusing the government of rigging the polls. One instance of such indiscretion was a warning to the opposition that violence would be met with violence. The Government then proceeded to tackle the opposition protest as a mere law-and-order problem. Liberal use was made of the police force and even at one place troops were called out to assist the civil administration. To make matters worse, the Government set up a special tribunal to try those involved in "disruptive activities". This was followed by a declaration that councillors found guilty of "disruption and sabotage" would lose their seats. It is clear who would be the targets of such Draconian measures. All this has driven the opposition to the wall. They have formed an alliance and have started agitation demanding the resignation of the Government and fresh elections for the local bodies.

The opposition, too, has not acted with reasoned restraint and circumspection. If both fail to show flexibility and moderation even now, the result could be unpleasant for both and keep this sensitive region in the grip of turmoil and disorder. The way out lies in a dialogue to resolve the crisis. The opposition should accept the Government's offer to talks, while the Government should be willing to look into specific cases of irregularity and malpractice. If re-polling (at least in constituencies where there are manifest evidences of wrong-doing) can help cool tempers and remove grievances, let both agree to it in good faith. The present incumbent of the presidency in Azad Kashmir is a skillful negotiator, having gained such a reputation during the PNA movement of 1977. He should be able to help the two sides agree to negotiate rather than persist in a course of confrontation. If the crisis is resolved by political means, they would be sending a significant signal across the border. The adverse effects of a thoughtless handling of the crisis on the other side of the border should not be lost sight of or underestimated by decision-makers in Muzaffarabad of Islamabad.

/12223

Commentary Urges Fiscal Responsibility

46000050b Karachi DAWN in English 19 Dec 87 p 5

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Burning the Economic Candle at Both Ends"]

[Text] It is one of the paradoxes of our political life that while the opposition parties are not involved in focusing public attention on the critical failures of the economy, a

few of the official agencies have been ringing the alarm bells for quite a while.

The political parties, including those who regard themselves as radical or reformist, appear to be largely in the primary stage—a simplistic pursuit of political power—even after 40 years of Pakistan. They are not impelled to give the setbacks in the vital sectors of the economy in a poor country with over 100 million people and a sustained population explosion, the kind of critical attention they demand. They are not able to read the alarm signals in this vital sector because of their poor comprehension of the economy and the fact that most of them come from rich families, primarily the landowning class with its assured income, social status and political prominence. This is somewhat like the case of senior officials who maintain that inflation last year was below 4 per cent as they are insulated from the squeeze of the inflation by a variety of expensive perquisites as goods and services they get cost-free.

Cautionary notes

But official institutions like the Planning Commission and the State Bank of Pakistan, particularly its Governor V. A. Jafarey, have been coming up with strong cautionary notes as the lasting structural weakness of the economy have become critical, and they cannot be wished away. Nor can they go off by the passing of time. In fact, unless radical measures are taken forthwith the situation can become far worse in a country with rising expectations, massive tax evasion, pervasive corruption and a very large black economy.

The SBP's comprehensive report for 1986-87 cautions the country against failures in a vast variety of areas of the economy and underscores the urgency for drastic remedies; but as it is an official agency its voice is muted and it identifies the difficulties and indicates the inevitable curse rather than stressing them in strong words.

Striking indeed is the fact that the SBP holds the government more responsible for the major failures in the economy than the public. When the budgetary deficit of the Government rises to 8.8 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or to Rs 52.8 billion, and that represents a doubling of the deficit within three years, the government is certainly going the very wrong way, and setting a bad example for others.

When the Government borrows very heavily from the public, and at very high interest rates, and the private sector, too, is borrowing heavily from the banks for industrial investment and defaulting on repayment, while it employs its own resources on trading, the malignancy in the economy has to increase. If instead of saving and investing there is largescale borrowing all round in an economy marked for its poor productivity,

how can we cope with the pervasive unemployment problem in a country in which the population is increasing by 3.16 per cent and 8 lakh persons are entering the job market annually?

Farm sector If as a result of the setback in the agricultural sector the GDP growth last year dropped to 7 per cent from 7.3 per cent in the preceding year it is not very disturbing, but what is really upsetting is that per capita income last year dropped to 2.9 per cent from 4.2 per cent in the preceding year. This is the outcome of the annual population growth of 3.16 per cent. So a good rate of economic growth with a very large increase in population means a nominal increase in per capita income in a country in which it is now just over 300 dollars.

Such a situation demands a strong two-fold drive: The population explosion has to be checked and the productive capacity of the country increased rapidly. But little has been done to effectively check the population explosion, while lip service to family planning, seminars and workshops continue at a high cost. Larger production in the agricultural and industrial sectors instead of the considerably wasteful service sector, which is expanding disturbingly for the SBP can come only through larger savings and higher real investment.

But the SBP report says the ratio of official savings to the GNP dropped to a nominal 0.4 per cent from 1.5 per cent in the preceding year. Private savings, however, rose to 13.9 per cent last year from 10.6 per cent. Simultaneously, it says that domestic savings rose to 9.1 per cent last year from 3.5 per cent two years ago; but how exactly such increases came about has not been explained; but even at this level the domestic saving is far below the minimum of 20 per cent needed, which several developing countries, including Pakistan's neighbours, have achieved.

How could there be any public saving when the current expenditure of the government went up by 17.8 per cent while the revenues rose by 10.8 per cent, resulting in a whopping deficit of Rs 52.8 billion? How can there be faster development in a developing country in which the current expenditure of the Government is Rs 111.5 billion and the development outlay on the essential infra-structure only Rs 39.8 billion, as it was last year? It is one thing to borrow for development and something vastly different to borrow at a very high cost to meet the current needs or nonproductive sectors of the government. Clearly out of the borrowing of Rs 52.8 billion last year Rs 13 billion went to fund the current expenditure of the government.

As most of the borrowing is done at a high interest rate of around 15 per cent the debt service burden of the government goes on rising and now stands at 31 per cent of the revenue budget. Clearly this is a kind of budgetary cannibalism, a vicious circle, and a self-defeating exercise, as the World Bank and IMF, too, have been stressing.

If that is the sad picture in the public sector the story of the private industrial sector is not bright either. Instead of the entrepreneurs investing the agreed funds of their own on the projects, they rely too heavily on borrowing from public sector banks and investment finance institutions. They do not like exercising the other option of obtaining equity through the stock market. So the number of institutions offering new shares for public subscription last year was only 11, and the total amount they sought only Rs 745 million. Evidently they do not want to share their profits properly with the minority share holders, to be scrutinised by the Corporate Law Authority even when it is too gentle or be questioned by the share holders. So instead of the corporate sector mobilising capital from the market, autonomous bodies like Bankers Equity and WAPDA doing that now.

Growth rate

"During the past few years the growth rate of government and private consumption in Pakistan have been one of the highest among the low income developing countries," laments the SBP. And it also cautions that "any sense of complacency about the present growth rate of population could create economic and social problems." Clearly this is a case of the candle being burnt at both ends. At one end population is increasing rapidly and its consumption is rising conspicuously, and at the other end there is little of savings, investment and additional production to balance it. The increase in investment of 15 per cent last year, if adjusted for an inflation of 10 per cent gives a net investment of 5 per cent more vis-a-vis population growth of 3.16 per cent.

The theme song of the SBP report, as also the urgings of the World Bank, is fiscal reforms or mobilisation of larger tax resources with a broader tax base. But has the government the political will to come up with new taxation in the face of its bitter experience following the last budget? And has it the administrative strength and integrity to collect the old and new taxes in full? And can it propose new taxes if the rich landowners, who man the present ruling set up, remain fiscal sacred cows? Anyone who borrows too heavily finally faces a blank wall. The government has, hence, to act instead of drifting and face the facts instead of having fiscal fantasies.